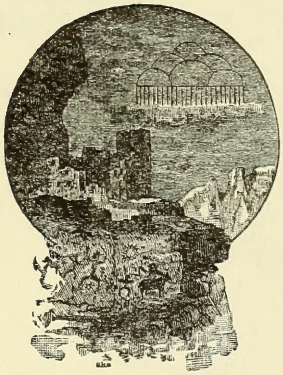
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 180

SYMPOSIUM ON CHEROKEE AND IROQUOIS CULTURE

EDITED BY WILLIAM N. FENTON
and
JOHN GULICK



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D.C., December 28, 1959.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture," edited by William N. Fenton and John Gulick, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr.
Director.

Dr. Leonard Carmichael,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 180

Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 1. Foreword by the Editors

FOREWORD BY THE EDITORS

This symposium is a link in a long chain of public and scholarly concern and effort which stretches back to the Colonial period of American history during which both the Cherokee and Iroquois cultures figured prominently.

Scholarly interest has been continuous since the early work of Lewis H. Morgan among the Iroquois and James Mooney among the Cherokee. In more recent times, sustained interest in Iroquoian problems has received stimulation and support in the Conference on Iroquois Research, which met annually after 1945 at Red House, N.Y., under the leadership of William N. Fenton.

The Proceedings of the first four Red House conferences are referenced in a footnote to a published symposium, which was held in New York City in November 1949 during the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association (Fenton, ed., 1951, p. 4). By 1950, the conferences, having returned to Red House, were beginning to produce the results of substantive research in several disciplines. In paired articles, called "Iroquois Anthropology at the Mid-century," Fenton wrote up history, ethnology, and linguistics; and Witthoft reviewed archeology at the sixth conference (Fenton, 1951 a; Witthoft, 1951). The seventh and eighth conferences held at Red House in 1951 and 1952 were noticed in Science (Fenton, 1951 b; Wallace, 1953). By now the group had returned to general sessions on a single theme—"stability and change in culture history," which the following year prompted "ethnohistory," with a trend noticeable toward more formal papers on methodological problems. The conference did not convene at Red House in 1954 or 1955, but at the Detroit meetings of the American Anthropological Association, a group interested in the field met for lunch to formulate a program for regional studies involving American and Canadian scholars and institutions. A memorandum circulated after this meeting provided the basis for a conference which was called by the New York State Education Department and held at the New York State Museum in March 1955. A direct outcome of this conference was a proposal for a regional ethnohistorical study on cultural conservatism among the Iroquois, which failed to find foundation support. The focus of this proposal was the developing field of ethnohistory; the theoretical problem was the study of conservatism. This petition said in part:

> The groups of Iroquois in Canada and New York State are ideal subjects for such an approach, exhibiting after three hundred years of contact many features

of the aboriginal culture. For this entire period there is excellent documentation, and by "upstreaming" from the contemporary scene through the historical into the prehistoric period, it should be possible to obtain a detailed and thorough picture of the processes of culture and historical change which have occurred over a long time-span, which have the advantage of being shown in two countries, and relate directly to the forces of conservatism.

The problem here outlined affords excellent opportunities for research by members of a variety of disciplines, and is perhaps uniquely integrating in that the prehistorian, historian, folklorist, musicologist, linguist, ethnologist, and social psychologist would find it possible to work closely on a single set of related problems. The program also lends itself well to the training of graduate students, for the accessibility of the group under study makes it possible to put a number of people into the field under direct supervision and at a modest expense. The value of such training for those students who will later undertake work in more distant areas without firsthand supervision cannot be overestimated.

The problem of conservatism has several practical as well as basic theoretical applications. On the practical side, it seems that the United States today might profit from an examination of her past experience with attempts to "civilize" underdeveloped areas occupied by American Indians. There is knowledge to be gained from study of the success and failure of religious groups, federal and state agencies, schools, etc., in trying to change American Indian culture, and failing. The Iroquois are peculiarly suited to such type of study because their history is so well documented.

The field of ethnohistory has received increasing attention within the past several years. Recent trends in American archeology show an increasing interest in tying prehistoric finds to historic groups, an endeavor which poses a number of major methodological problems. Similarly, work involving cooperation between historian and ethnologist has been increasingly emphasized, requiring the two to alter traditional views and procedures to their mutual benefit in order to give most meaning to the data.

The six Iroquois reservations of New York and the four reserves in Canada can best be utilized as related but individually distinct laboratories. The similarities among them are striking; the variation from reservation to reservation offers a wide range of intriguing problems within the field of culture history. Contemporary problems are numerous, and some piecemeal research has been done, both on these, as well as on some of the historical problems. What we are proposing is an integrated program of study which would enable interested scholars to pursue lines of inquiry within the framework of a common problem.

Though a basis for such research had been laid in the eight conferences on Iroquois research in the decade preceding 1955, it was all too clear that the lack of an integrated program severely limited the amount of cooperative research that could be undertaken by participants in these conferences and by their institutions. Much individual work nevertheless had been stimulated.

Undismayed, students of the Iroquois met for the ninth [1] time at Red House in 1955, to explore ways of achieving cooperation in anthropological studies in the northeast. This theme provided a vehicle for discussing State and local relationships in archeology, professional and

[1] Mimeographed copies of the full proceedings of the Ninth (1955) and Tenth (1956) Conferences are available on request at the New York State Museum, Albany 1, N.Y.

amateur responsibilities, the roles of local and regional museums, the relationships between universities as training centers, and the opportunities provided by the conference for fieldwork. In the selection of the theme and in the candor which marked the discussion, the conference touched a significant problem area in the organization of scholarship—namely, how to foster good communications among national, State, and local levels of the community of science without control flowing from the top, and how to provide the amateur, part-time scholar with a sense of full participation (Fenton, 1956).

The next year the decennial conference concentrated on ethnology; and, with small attendance, engendered lively discussion of four key papers: on an ethnohistorical museum exhibit, on social structure, on Mohawks in high steel (Freilich, 1958), and on the Seneca language project; three of these were now programs of the New York State Museum and Science Service. A suggestion that more frequent meetings be held at central locations to discuss a series of identified topics was never put into action, but it was apparent that such meetings do succeed when a speaker is chosen who has new evidence or recent research to present. The group was maturing and wanted formal papers.

The Eleventh Conference of 1957 featured a seminar on revitalization, with prepared papers, two of which were afterward printed in Ethnohistory (Wallace, 1958; Landy, 1958), and another elsewhere (Dunning, 1958).

Work among the Cherokee has, perhaps, been less sustained, especially among the Cherokee of Oklahoma. Among the Eastern Cherokee of North Carolina, the work of Olbrechts, Speck, Broom, Gilbert, and Witthoft has been notable. In 1955, furthermore, a coordinated study of the Eastern Cherokee was established under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. Under the direction of John Gulick, the aim of this field study has been to achieve a fully rounded analysis of the total contemporary culture. Ten persons have participated in the research, each representing a different topical and theoretical interest from the others. Four of the authors included in this symposium, Raymond Fogelson, Charles H. Holzinger, Paul Kutsche, and Robert K. Thomas, were members of this group of ten, and three of the papers, Fogelson and Kutsche's, Fogelson's, and Holzinger's, are based on the research of the project. It should be pointed out that all of these papers relate to matters pertaining primarily to the relatively least acculturated Eastern Cherokee, but that the Eastern Cherokee include at least three other population aggregates which can be differentiated from each other in terms of degrees of acculturation. Issues associated with the nature of, and relationships between,

these different groups, though of considerable importance in the "total contemporary culture of the Eastern Cherokees," are not elucidated by the contemporary Eastern Cherokee papers in this volume. These wider issues are analyzed in a monograph by Gulick (1960).

The forging of this particular link in the chain of Cherokee and Iroquois studies was inspired by the comparing of notes between Iroquoian specialists, on the one hand, and participants in the coordinated Cherokee study in North Carolina, on the other. The time seemed ripe for an up-to-date review of the recurrent problems which have arisen in the study of the two cultures.

Accordingly, on March 14, 1958, William N. Fenton, Fred O. Gearing, William H. Gilbert, Jr., John Gulick, and William C. Sturtevant met at the Smithsonian Institution to make plans for a Cherokee-Iroquois Symposium which would be included in the proceedings of the 57th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Previously, members of this informal committee had solicited from colleagues suggestions for topics of papers which they might prepare, and these suggestions were used as the basis of concrete planning. Thus, since the topics of most of the papers were set by their authors, they differ significantly in scope and in manner of presentation.

However, this apparent heterogeneity should not distract the reader from the rationale according to which the suggested topics were selected for inclusion and, in turn, were arranged in order. This rationale derives from the long-held view, based primarily on linguistic evidence, that the Cherokee and the Iroquois had a single common origin at some time in the distant past. Given this view, a series of interpretative questions, or problem areas, arises in regard to similarities and differences between the two cultures which existed either before or at the time of Colonial contact and for a while thereafter. To these problems must be added those related to the extensive adjustments which the Cherokee and the Iroquois have had to make since the initial contact period and are still making today.

The order in which the papers appear is roughly chronological. Beginning with the linguistic issue and its bearing on the question of common origin, there follow two papers dealing with archeological matters. Next come several papers which are ethnohistorical in horizon, followed by papers dealing with the present or the recent past. Diverse in temporal emphasis, the papers are also diverse in methodological and topical focus, ranging from archeology to culture-and-personality. In selecting and arranging the papers and discussions, care was taken to balance the coverage of Cherokee and Iroquois materials as well as possible. In some cases, this is achieved within individual papers—Lounsbury's, Witthoft's, and Kurath's

papers, in particular. In other cases, there are paired papers dealing with comparable issues, one focusing on Cherokee, the other on Iroquois. These paired papers are Ritchie's and Coe's, Wallace's and Thomas', and Shimony's and Fogelson's. Holzinger's and Gearing's papers, both concentrating on Cherokee, are not precisely matched on the Iroquois side, but an effort was made to extend the Iroquois dimension in the discussions and in Fenton's summary and evaluative paper.

Unless otherwise indicated, the Iroquois linguistic forms cited in various papers are Seneca. Seneca words, except in quotations from older sources, have been written in a standardized phonemic orthography (Chafe, 1960).

With the exception of the papers by Shimony, Fogelson, and Fogelson and Kutsche, which were added later, all the papers and nearly all the discussions in this volume were read in the Cherokee-Iroquois Symposium at the 57th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C., November 20, 1958. They were presented in two sessions, one chaired by William N. Fenton and the other by John Gulick. The finished papers were afterward revised, duplicated, and circulated for critical comment. It is a tribute to the participants that the editors received the final manuscripts so promptly.

We wish to express our appreciation to Dr. Harvey C. Moore, program chairman of the 1958 Meetings, and to his committee for allocating two session periods for a single symposium; to all who took part; and to the crowd who came to listen.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 2. Iroquois-Cherokee Linguistic Relations

By FLOYD G. LOUNSBURY

IROQUOIS-CHEROKEE LINGUISTIC RELATIONS

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The widest cleavage in the Iroquoian family is certainly that between the Cherokee and all the rest of the Iroquoian, i.e., between a lone southern branch and a large northern trunk. Ten years ago, at the Fourth Conference on Iroquois Research, I hazarded a guess of around 4,000 years for the time depth of this split. The estimate was based primarily on a rough evaluation of the amount of phonetic, grammatical, and lexical change which has accrued to the Cherokee and which sets it off from the rest of the Iroquoian. This was before the advent of glottochronology, which appeared on the scene in 1950 and 1951 (Swadesh, 1950, 1951). By glottochronologic counts, using the Swadesh 200-word list but with still incomplete data, common retentions between Cherokee and other Iroquoian languages range from 37.8 percent down to 34.3 percent. As I translate percentages into estimates of time,[1] this would be read as an effective split of around 3,500 to 3,800 years duration—a trifle shorter than my first guess from phonology. These figures, of course, are to be regarded as tentative and as subject to revision when complete data are in.

On the basis of comparative phonology, one must judge all other effective splits within the Iroquoian family to be of appreciably shal-

[1] The translation of percentages into estimates of years in this paper is based upon a corrected scale taking account of a "deceleration factor," rather than upon the scale obtained from the usual formula with the Lees empirical constant (Lees, 1953). The corrected scale gives results in the lower percentages closer to those of the scale first given by Swadesh in his Salish paper (1950).

The usual formula (Swadesh, 1950; Lees, 1953) with the Lees constant (Lees, 1953), which has been the basis for most recent calculations, yields increasingly foreshortened time depths, the lower the percentage of common retention. This effect follows from the invalid assumption of equal average viabilities for all items in the basic vocabulary list. It is an empirical fact, however, as might also be expected a priori, that the items are of unequal average viability. The attrition from a starting list during, say, the first millennium of reckoning affects a generally more vulnerable portion of the list, leaving a somewhat more resistant residue. And so also for each successive ensuing millennium. The result is a gradual deceleration in the rate of attrition from the original list as the time span is increased. In other words, the retention rate is not constant over successive millennia, but increases as the residue list gets smaller and generally more resistant.

That a deceleration correction is in order can be seen not only from a priori reasoning, but also from the fact that the usual formula, with the Lees constant, yields excessively shallow time depths in a number of cases where the actual time depths are ascertainable within reasonable limits. For example, it yields just under three millennia for the approximately 28 percent common retention obtained in any Germanic-Romance or Germanic-Slavic comparison. This is hardly sufficient for a stage of Indo-European ancestral to the Slavic, Germanic, and Romance branches.

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lower time depth. This applies to the Huron and Tuscarora and other peripheral branchings, as well as to those within the Five Nations. Glottochronologic retentions between Tuscarora and Five Nations languages range from 59.4 to 50.0 percent of the 200-word list. These should represent a depth of from 1,900 to 2,400 years. Retentions which have been obtained within the Five Nations are from 72.8 to 64.8 percent, or approximately 1,200 to 1,500 years. The available percentages are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1

Cherokee	100.0				
Tuscarora	34.3	100.0			
Seneca		50.0	100.0		
Cayuga	34.5		71.6	100.0	
Oneida	37.8	59.4	64.8	72.8	100.0
	Cherokee	Tuscarora	Seneca	Cayuga	Oneida
			Ca. 1,200–1,500 years		
		Ca. 1,900–2,400 years			
	Ca. 3,500–3,800 years				

There are a fair number of seemingly important isoglosses, however, which cut through the Iroquoian family in a different place from that of its widest cleavage, and which divide on a west-vs.-east, or perhaps peripheral-vs.-inner, basis, rather than on the basis of Cherokee vs. all else. The possibility of such a division among the languages has occurred to me at different times and in different contexts: in the collection of grammatical data concerned with the pronominal prefix systems; again, in studying Bernard Hoffmann's collation of the Cartier vocabularies of the Laurentian Iroquois; also, in a comparative study of the Iroquois kinship systems; and once more in connection with a study of place names of Iroquois origin. Table 2 presents data for five such isoglosses.

The ka- plurals (column 2a, table 2).—Each of the Iroquoian languages possesses a set of pronominal prefixes which indicate the various transitive combinations of pronominal subject and pronominal object, distinguishing person, number, and gender, with varying degrees of specificity, for each. The number of such prefixes differs from language to language within the family, but ranges from a low figure of 49 to a high in the 70's. Some of the languages, but not all, have prefixes with a plural formative *ka-* which pluralizes either the

TABLE 2

	1	2a	2b	3	4	5a	5b
	'paternal aunt'	'I-to-them'	'I-to-her'	'lake'	'four'	'six'	'seven'
Cherokee	e·hloki	katsi·-	tsi·-	ṽ·tali	nṽhki	su·tali	kahlkwo·ki
Laurentian	?	?	?	õta(r)e?	hṽ?nahkõ	šutaye?	ahya?ka
Wyandot	arahak	?	?	yõtare?	ṽ?dahk	wahya?	sutare?
Huron	ayrahak	yaye-	ye-	õtare?	ṽ?dahk	wahya?	tsutare?
Tuscarora	akharak	kakhe-	khe-	(kanyá·tare?)	hṽ?tahk	wuhya?k	tša?nahk
Cayuga	----------	kakhe-	khe-	kanyatae?	kei	ye·i?	tsyatak
Seneca	ake·hak	khe-		kanyotae?	ke·ih	ye·i?	ja·tak
Onondaga	----------	khe-		kaynatae?	kayei	ahya?k	tsyatak
Oneida	----------	khe-		kanyatale?	kaye(li-)	yahya?k-	tsyatak
Mohawk	----------	khe-		kanyatare?	kayeri	yahya?k-	ts(y)atak

subjective or the objective reference of the prefix. Cherokee has 17 of these *ka-* plurals; Tuscarora has 9; Cayuga has 6. Huron had at least 16 of them (but with the Huron phonetic change of prevocalic *k* to *y*). Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk lack these entirely, and this formative element is unknown in these languages. Column 2a of table 2 illustrates one of these plural prefixes, namely, that for the combination of the first-person-singular subject with the third-person-plural object, 'I-to-them.' Comparison of columns 2a and 2b shows how the categories of 'I-to-them' and 'I-to-her' are distinguished from each other in one group of languages but are merged in the second group of languages. The isogloss line separates the two groups. (No data exist for Laurentian. Manuscript data exist for Wyandot, but I have not seen them. One would expect Wyandot to follow the Huron in this as in other respects.)

The noun root for 'lake' (column 3, table 2).—One must reconstruct two different forms of the noun root for 'lake' (or 'large river' or any 'large body of water') in proto-Iroquoian. One is *-õtar-; the other is *-nyatar-.[2] The former is ancestral to the Cherokee, Huron, Wyandot, and Laurentian forms for 'lake.' The latter is ancestral to the forms in the Five Nations languages.

Both of these root forms can be seen in some of our place names and other names of Iroquoian origin. For example, based on the root *-õtar- are our names Ontario and Ticonderoga: Ontario from Huron õtari·yo 'grand lake,' and Ticonderoga from Laurentian tekõtaró·kṽ 'the junction between two lakes.' Based on the root *-nyatar- are the name of the city Skaneateles, N.Y., and the name of Handsome Lake, the prophet of the present Iroquois religion. The former is

[2] The asterisk is used, following common linguistic practice, to mark hypothetical forms reconstructed for an ancestral language. The tilde is used to mark nasalized vowels.

from Oneida skanyátáles 'the long lake.' The latter is skanyotaiyo? in Seneca or skanyatari·yo? in Mohawk, 'the grand lake.'

On one side of the *-õtar-:*-nyatar- isogloss are found Cherokee, Wyandot, Huron, and Laurentian. On the other side are the Five Nations languages. As for Tuscarora, the original form of its word for 'lake' is not known to me. In the differentiation of Tuscarora from the ancestral stock, all instances of the Iroquoian phoneme *n* became *t*, except before a nasalized vowel where it stayed *n*. Moreover, all instances of the Iroquoian phoneme *t* in intervocalic position became ?*n*. The current word for 'lake' in Tuscarora, kanyá·tare?, is therefore an obvious recent borrowing from Mohawk or Oneida. Hence the parentheses around this entry in the table. If the Tuscarora word were a genuine cognate, descending from proto-Iroquoian and based on this root, the form would have to be katyá·?nare?. If it were based on the other root, and were cognate to the Cherokee, Wyandot, Huron, and Laurentian forms, it would have to be yv̄·?nare? in Tuscarora. Keeping Tuscarora on this side of the isogloss, this is the form which I would predict.

Neither of the two root forms *-õtar- and *-nyatar- can be derived from the other or from a common protoform by any attestable phonetic changes in the development of the languages concerned. They must therefore be posited as competing forms. (One can of course suspect that both derive, by some manner of morphological compounding in a pre-Iroquoian stage, from a common hypothetical root *-tar- in second position but with two different hypothetical first elements.)

Words for 'four' (column 4, table 2).—Iroquoian words for the numeral 'four' go back to two separate protoforms, *hv̄?nahk and *kayeri. The Cherokee, Laurentian, Wyandot, Huron, and Tuscarora words derive from the former, while the Five Nations words come from the latter. The change of original *n* to *d* in Wyandot and Huron is in accord with a regular phonological change in these languages, and the change of *n* to *t* in Tuscarora is in accord with the regular change previously noted for Tuscarora in the discussion of the word for 'lake.'

Words for 'six' and 'seven' (columns 5a and 5b, table 2).—I am led to reconstruct two competing forms for the numeral 'seven' in proto-Iroquoian: *tsyatahk and *sutare?. The first of these is ancestral to the Five Nations and Tuscarora words for 'seven.' The second is ancestral to the Wyandot and Huron words for 'seven' and to the Cherokee and Laurentian words for 'six.' Since the Laurentian word for 'seven' (ahya?ka) is obviously cognate to the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, Huron, and Wyandot words for 'six,' while the Laurentian for 'six' (šutaye) is cognate to the Huron and Wyandot for 'seven,' it would seem either that the Laurentian Iroquois had

interchanged the words for 'six' and 'seven,' or that whoever took down the Cartier vocabularies had interchanged them. The latter would be the simpler and preferable hypothesis were it not for the fact that the Cherokee language agrees with the Cartier Laurentian vocabulary in its word for 'six' (su·tali). Cartier's scribe can therefore not be blamed, and we must posit some semantic instability to the proto-Iroquoian forms for 'six' and 'seven.' After all, these may have represented rather high numerical concepts in proto-Iroquoian times. The Cherokee for 'seven,' kahlkwo·ki, <*kalVhkwo·ki,[3] does not appear to be cognate to anything else Iroquoian, but looks suspiciously like a borrowing from Muskogean. (Compare Creek kulapâ·kin. *Kw* is the usual transformation of bilabial stops in borrowings into the labial-less Iroquoian languages.)

In table 2 the isogloss has been drawn so as to divide between those languages which show a form descended from proto-Iroquoian *sutare? but none from *tsyatak, and those languages which have a form descended from *tsyatak but none from *sutare?. (All of the languages except Cherokee have a form descendent from *-ahya?k.)

The 'paternal aunt' term (column 1, table 2).—The Cherokee, Wyandot, Huron, Tuscarora, and Seneca terms for 'my paternal aunt' are given in column 1 of table 2. The forms in these languages are cognate, going back to a proto-Iroquoian root *-rahak-. Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga lack a 'father's sister' term. The paternal aunt class is terminologically merged with the 'mother' class, in 'Hawaiian' fashion, in these languages.

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[3] The symbol *V* is used here as a cover symbol for 'any vowel' or 'some (in the present case, unknown) vowel.' The symbol *C*, in the following, will represent 'any consonant.' It is a rule of Cherokee phonological development that *CVh* metathesizes to *ChV* if *C* is one of the stops *t*, *k*, but to *hCV* if *C* is one of the continuants *y*, *w*, *l*, *n*, *s*; and, further, that if in either of these cases the following syllable begins with *t*, *k*, or *s* (rather than with *y*, *w*, *l*, or *n*), then the preceding vowel *V* drops out altogether. This explains the sequence *hlk* in the cited form for 'seven,' and the reconstruction. There is no other possible source for such a sequence in Cherokee.

Consonant sequences such as this (and many others) present a problem for the Cherokee writer, inasmuch as the Sequoya syllabary provides symbols only for sequences of types *CV* and *sCV*. (To be included under the formulation *CV* are the cases of *kwV*, *tlV*, *tsV*, and also the cases of *ʔV* which are romanized misleadingly as *V*. Also it should be noted that most of the *CV* signs of the syllabary represent ambiguously any of the phonemic types *CV*, *CV·*, *CV·ʔ*, *CVh*, or *ChV/hCV*.) To write, for example, the single consonant *l* or the sequence *hl* one is forced to choose one of the signs representing *la*, *le*, *li*, *lo*, *lu*, or *lṽ*. Cherokee practice is to choose the one with the historically correct vowel whenever this can be ascertained from another paradigmatic form based on a morphophonemic stem-alternant—one having a glottal stop and/or length with falling tone in place of *h*, and thus not furnishing the conditions for metathesis and vowel loss. (The Cherokees, of course, do not phrase it this way.) In verb forms the Cherokee orthographic practice usually reveals correctly the historically lost vowel, as one can easily demonstrate by running through a paradigm. But with nouns (other than body parts and kinship terms), numerals, and other forms which do not serve as bases for paradigms with more than one stem-alternant, the necessary clues are rarely available and the Cherokee writer must make an arbitrary choice of symbol.

In the Cherokee version of the "Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation" (1892) the word for 'seven,' kahlkwo·ki, is printed several times with the signs (as represented in the usual romanization) *GA LI GWO GI*. If the choice of *LI* has morphophonemic or historic validity, it makes the vowel comparisons more difficult and weakens the case for the comparison with the Creek numeral. If on the other hand it is but an arbitrary choice which has become conventional, it is then irrelevant to the problem.

Professor Murdock (1949, pp. 245, 246) has noted this kind of an anomaly in something under a half of the Iroquois-type kinship systems, and in something under a third of the Crow-type kinship systems, which have turned up in his ethnographic sample. The anomaly consists (*a*) in the lack of a specially designated 'paternal aunt' class to contrast with the combined 'mother and maternal aunt' class in a manner analogous to that in which the specially designated 'maternal uncle' class contrasts with the combined 'father and paternal uncle' class, and (*b*) in the reciprocal fact that only a man has any 'nephews' and 'nieces' while a woman classifies the children of all of her brothers and sisters and cousins as 'sons' and 'daughters' in 'Hawaiian' fashion.

No satisfactory functional explanation for this quite frequent anomaly has been put forward as yet (so far as I know), but Murdock suggested a tentative historical explanation—linguistic lag from an earlier Hawaiian-type system—which may be relevant to some of the cases. In the case of the Iroquois, however, because of the genetically cognate form of the 'paternal aunt' term in Cherokee with those of Wyandot, Huron, Seneca, and Tuscarora, a 'paternal aunt' term must be posited for proto-Iroquoian. If the proto-Iroquoian speech community were homogeneous in this respect, it would indicate loss of an original 'paternal aunt' term in the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga lines, rather than a 'Hawaiian'-type lag and failure to develop a term where none originally existed. In view of the other isoglosses however, which set off the northern, western, and southern peripheral languages from the eastern or central languages, it may be that we have here only another isogloss which follows suit, and that this terminological difference goes all the way back to the proto-Iroquoian dialect community.

Conclusion.—A culture historian, faced with a series of 'iso-' lines showing the ethnic distribution of a number of traits, might by habit be inclined to interpret them in terms of trait diffusion. This is all right, so long as one specifies correctly the time of the diffusion. The instances reviewed here are not cases of diffusion from language to language. They are not borrowings. The fact that the forms cited have shared the particular phonological histories of their respective languages as these have evolved and differentiated from each other, throws their antecedents in each language all the way back to proto-Iroquoian. The only exception in the table is the present Tuscarora word for 'lake', which by not sharing the regular Tuscarora phonemic changes, betrays itself clearly as a recent borrowing and is therefore irrelevant for the drawing of an isogloss.

It is sometimes necessary to reconstruct competing forms for a single vocabulary item in an inferred protolanguage, in order to

account for all of the inherited forms in a family of historically known languages. One thereby recognizes dialect cleavages within the proto-speech-community. This poses a problem in the application of the comparative method and in the construction of a family tree only when such cleavages run counter to others which are judged to be equally or more important for phylogenetic classification of the languages.[4] An old dialect cleavage may attain a certain magnitude, only to be arrested and superseded by a new one based upon different linguistic features and corresponding to a different geographical split. The later one may grow to proportions that dwarf the overall significance of the earlier split. The family tree which one constructs will then represent the latter division, rather than the former. The two-dimensional tree model cannot represent everything. It portrays the widest splits. The widest and therefore most effective splits, however, are not of necessity the deepest ones in time. Some of the deeper ones may be obscured by the family-tree model.

In the Iroquoian family a series of isoglosses can be drawn, largely but not entirely coinciding in their location, which oppose the outer languages (Cherokee, Laurentian, Huron-Wyandot, and Tuscarora) against the inner or eastern languages (Five Nations languages, but especially the easternmost ones). These indicate a dialect cleavage within the proto-Iroquoian speech community. It survives as a minor cleavage, in comparison to the quantitatively much greater cleavage which separates Cherokee from all else. Yet it must be at least as old. The lesser magnitude of this equally deep split must be ascribed to longer geographic proximity of the ancestral Laurentian, Huron-Wyandot, and Tuscarora groups to the ancestral Five Nations groups and to continuing contact between them. The wider separation of the Cherokee, on the other hand, must be ascribed to a more complete, though not earlier, separation.

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[4] Compare Bloomfield's discussion of the Wellentheorie of Johannes Schmidt (Bloomfield, 1933, pp. 317–318).

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 3. Comment on Floyd G. Lounsbury's "Iroquois-Cherokee Linguistic Relations"

By MARY R. HAAS

COMMENT ON FLOYD G. LOUNSBURY'S "IROQUOIS-CHEROKEE LINGUISTIC RELATIONS"

By Mary R. Haas
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Of the six North American superstocks set up by Sapir 30 years ago (Sapir, 1929), the most problematical of all is his Hokan-Siouan superstock. And it is within this superstock that Sapir has placed Iroquoian. He subsumes six major subdivisions: (1) Hokan-Coahuiltecan; (2) Yuki; (3) Keres; (4) Tunican; (5) Iroquois-Caddoan; and (6) Eastern group—Siouan-Yuchi plus Natchez-Muskogean. At the present time there can no longer be any doubt that drastic revisions will have to be made in this scheme. For example, recent investigations have shown that some of these subdivisions are probably related to subdivisions of another of Sapir's superstocks, namely Algonkian-Mosan (Haas, 1958, 1959). In particular, preliminary evidence has been provided for an affiliation between Algonkian-Ritwan and the Gulf languages (= Natchez-Muskogean plus Sapir's "Tunican") and also Tonkawa (subsumed under Coahuiltecan by Sapir).

Still, none of this as yet throws any new light on the problem of deeper affiliations for the Iroquoian family. What it does show is (1) that the whole problem has become considerably more complex and (2) that we are not going to get very much further in our probings for deeper linguistic relationships in the Americas until we have made more progress in the reconstruction of protolanguages wherever sufficiently closely related daughter languages exist.

I am heartened to observe in the paper under discussion that Lounsbury is making good progress in the reconstruction of proto-Iroquoian. As his work proceeds it should soon become possible to make comparative tests in search of deeper affiliations for the Iroquoian languages. Since no one is at present working on the reconstruction of proto-Caddoan,[1] the testing of Sapir's hypothesis about the probable closeness of Iroquoian and Caddoan may have to be delayed. Such delay, however, should not prevent us from checking on other connections subsumed under the Sapir hypothesis. As soon

[1] W. L. Chafe is planning work toward this end and did preliminary fieldwork in this connection during the fall of 1959.—W. N. F.

as enough proto-Iroquoian reconstructions become available, it will be desirable to begin the checking of proto-Iroquoian against proto-Siouan, against proto-Muskogean, and also, in view of the recent work on Algonkian-Gulf, against proto-Central Algonkian. I do not wish to appear to be predicting positive findings; I am simply insisting that the checking must be done. The results, whether positive or negative (or some positive and some negative) would quite clearly be momentous.

Interest in the probing of near and remote genetic relationships in North America has been so great as to lead to the almost total neglect of another important historical tool provided by linguistics, namely the uncovering of intertribal loans.[2] Some years ago I observed that Creek (a Muskogean language) and Cherokee have similar terms for certain plants, animals, and other things. In most instances it has not been too difficult to determine which is the lending and which the borrowing language; and at the present stage of investigation it appears that Creek has borrowed from Cherokee more often than Cherokee has borrowed from Creek. Hence I was immediately struck by Lounsbury's problem in connection with the Cherokee word for 'seven'.

Cherokee kahlkwo·ki < kalVhkwo·ki 'seven' does not appear to be cognate with anything Iroquoian but may be a borrowing from Creek kulapâ·kin 'seven.' Cherokee has no labial stops; hence Creek /p/ would be transformed to Cherokee /kw/. Although other minor phonetic differences (the insertion of /h/; the transposition of the vowels /a/ and /o/, Creek /u/) remain unexplained, the similarity is too striking to be shrugged off as a coincidence. Moreover the direction of the borrowing is certain: the Cherokee word is modeled on the Creek word and not vice versa. This is clear (1) because the Creek word has an etymology and (2) because it occurs as a member of a set of numerals containing the element -apâ·k- meaning 'added on, joined with.' The set is: i·pâ·kin 'six,' kulapâ·kin 'seven,' cinapâ·kin 'eight,' ustapâ·kin 'nine' based on i·- 'one' (?), kul- 'two,' cin- 'three,' ust- 'four,' respectively.

But why should Cherokee have borrowed a word for 'seven'? There is no ready answer to this. Still, 'seven' is a ritual number among the Cherokee, and it is within the realm of possibility that the ancestral form for 'seven' acquired taboo status and that the Creek word was substituted for this reason.[3]

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[2] Studies of loanwords in American Indian languages have so far been concerned most often with the introduction of European, especially Spanish, words into the tribal languages.

[3] It has also recently been brought to my attention that the Cherokee use of a borrowed word for 'seven' is not unique in North America. On the other side of the continent, Tubatulabal, a Uto-Aztecan language, has borrowed its word for 'seven' from the neighboring Yokuts, a California Penutian language. The words in question are Tubatulabal nomčin, Yokuts nomčin (fide Sydney M. Lamb).

Clearly we know far too little about intertribal loans in North America and, as a consequence, are cut off from a valuable source of information about earlier historical contacts among tribes. Good dictionaries are essential for all types of historical studies—the study of loanwords as well as genetic affiliations. As more dictionaries become available we can earnestly hope that the problem of intertribal loans will receive the attention it deserves.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 4. Iroquois Archeology and Settlement Patterns

By WILLIAM A. RITCHIE

IROQUOIS ARCHEOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

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After two centuries of speculation and half a century of excavation, it is almost inconceivable that so many basic questions remain unsolved concerning the origins of the Iroquois people and their culture. I think this is chiefly due to the fact that the earlier hypotheses were based primarily on tradition and impressionism, and that in later years there has been an unfortunate lack of coordination among the various specialists working in the Iroquoian field, so that the data of ethnohistory, ethnology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and archeology remain to a large degree compartmentalized and mutually unrelated.[1] Even with respect to archeology we still have Iroquois prehistory as seen from Toronto, Ottawa, Rochester, Albany, Harrisburg, or some other center of regional concentration, rather than an overall perspective, based upon the combined and united efforts of a group of scholars.

Provenience hypotheses of the Iroquois and their culture can be grouped into two main categories, viz, the older or migration postulates, and the current in situ concept. The notion that the Iroquois represent a displaced people seems ultimately traceable to Nicholas Perrot, who may have drawn on Iroquois tradition for his allegation, written between 1680 and 1718, that "The country of the Iroquois was formerly the district of Montreal and Three Rivers; they had as neighbors the Algonkians, who lived along the river of the Oütaouas, at Nepissing, on the French River, and between this last and Taronto" (Blair, 1911, vol. 1, pp. 42–43).

Colden, writing in the first quarter of the 18th century, gives essentially the same account without mentioning his source, in the following statement: "The Five Nations then lived near where Mont Real now stands; they defended themselves at first but faintly against the vigorous attacks of the Adirondacks (Algonkins) and were forced

[1] The Iroquois Conferences at Red House, N.Y., and various brief symposia, have tended, in some measure, to correct this lack.

to leave their own Country, and fly to the Banks of the Lakes where they now live" (Colden, 1922, vol. 1, p. 3).

The factual basis for these claims by Perrot and Colden is well summarized by Fenton in his discussion of the Laurentian Iroquois (Fenton, 1940, pp. 167–177). Archeological evidence from the site of Hochelaga, situated near the campus of the present McGill University at Montreal, relates this agricultural village, visited by Cartier in 1535, but abandoned before Champlain's arrival in 1603, to the Onondaga Iroquois of Jefferson County, N.Y., rather than to the Mohawk, as has usually been assumed.[2]

Morgan (1851, p. 5), in his "League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois," repeats the tradition of a St. Lawrence residence for the Iroquois, when they were "but one nation," which had "learned husbandry from the Adirondacks," with whom they subsequently quarreled and were driven up river, to settle inland from the south shore of Lake Ontario, where tribal subdivision subsequently occurred.

In Herbert M. Lloyd's annotation of the 1901 edition of Morgan (1901, pp. 188–190), an elaboration of this concept appears which apparently provided the basis for A. C. Parker's migration hypothesis, first published in 1916. According to Lloyd, the Iroquoian stock migrated eastward from the headwaters of the Columbia River "not less than ten centuries ago." They acquired horticulture in the Mississippi Valley, perhaps from the Illinois. The Cherokee separated in the upper Ohio Valley, the Iroquois moving north, to split again at Lake Erie. The Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Huron pushed eastward, north of Lakes Erie and Ontario; the Seneca, Cayuga, and Erie also migrated eastward but along the south shores of these lakes. The Onondaga were the first tribe to enter New York, turning south at the east end of Lake Ontario. The Mohawk, an offshoot of the Huron, continued eastward into the lower St. Lawrence Valley. From this point, Lloyd follows pretty much the traditional account

[2] From the writer's examination of the material from this site in the McCord Museum of McGill University, through the courtesy of Mrs. Alice Turnham and Gordon Lowther, and in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, through the courtesy of Philip Phillips. (Cf. MacNeish, 1952, pp. 56, 73.)

In his report on the "Roebuck Prehistoric Village Site, Grenville County, Ontario," Wintemberg (1936, p. 124) refers to Hochelaga as a probable Mohawk site. He notes close similarities between Roebuck and Hochelaga pottery and other materials, also between these and probable Onondaga site materials in Jefferson County, N.Y. He concludes that all these sites of the same culture may represent a period prior to tribal differentiation of Mohawk and Onondaga.

Early Mohawk, however, appears to be characterized by a distinctively different ceramic complex, that of the so-called "Chance Horizon" (Ritchie, 1952; MacNeish, 1952, p. 71).

Beauchamp, a keen student, believed that the Mohawk were as recent as 1600 in the Mohawk Valley, and thought this supported the legend of their flight from Montreal. He attributed Mohawk-Huron linguistic similarity to a long contact of these tribes on the St. Lawrence, where the Oneida were also resident as neighbors. He referred to an Onondaga legend relating the migration of this group "many hundred moons ago" from the north bank of the St. Lawrence. He considered the sites in St. Lawrence and Jefferson Counties, N.Y., to be early Onondaga (Beauchamp, 1894, pp. 62–66).

The Huron have also been mentioned as the Iroquois of Hochelaga at the time of Cartier's visit (Thwaites, ed., 1896–1901, vol. 5, notes, p. 289) and this identification would seem in better accord with the linguistic evidence (Robinson, 1948; Lounsbury, this bulletin, pp. 14, 17).

of the subsequent quarrel with Algonquian tribes and the resultant displacement of the Mohawk into New York.

Parker's well-known article on "The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by their Archeology," departs very little from Lloyd's general theory (Parker, 1916, pp. 479–507). He derives the early Huron-Iroquois from an area centering at the mouth of the Ohio River, where they were in contact with the Caddo, Muskogee, Sioux, and some Algonquian groups. Already the Iroquois were sedentary agriculturalists dwelling in stockaded and earth-walled towns. For some reason they pushed up the Ohio, the Cherokee tribes leading the way. The latter came into conflict with the Mound Builders, whom they partially absorbed. Other Iroquois tribes pushing northward came into hostile contact with the Cherokee-Mound Builder group and were aided by the Delaware, to finally reach the west end of Lake Erie. From this point the story closely parallels the earlier postulates, already outlined.

James B. Griffin, at one time a contributor to the migration method of accounting for the Iroquois in their historic homeland, felt that the primary error committed by Parker and his predecessors lay in their "failure to correlate the time at which this movement might have occurred with the archeological culture horizon which was in existence at the time the movement could have occurred" (Griffin, 1944, p. 372). According to Griffin, "The archeological stage or cultural period which apparently immediately preceded the development of Iroquois material culture was that which has been known for some time as the Hopewellian Phase" (ibid.).[3]

The material culture basis for a relationship between Hopewellian and Iroquoian seems to me tenuous, the typological discrepancies very large in every category of artifacts, and the temporal hiatus, as revealed by radiocarbon dating, at least 1,300 years, taking the latest dates for Hopewell of Ohio,[4] and the oldest date for Iroquois in the Northeast. Moreover, depending upon the particular section of Iroquoia considered, either or both the later stages of Point Peninsula and the whole of Owasco, the latter alone radiocarbon-dated in New York State between about A.D. 905[5] –1435,[6] demonstrably intervened between Hopewellian and Iroquoian horizons.

Despite the enduring hold exerted by the sundry migration hypotheses upon students of the Iroquois, it seems a valid conclusion that as

[3] Very recently Gordon R. Willey has offered the suggestion "that the burial mound tradition was brought into the East, from the South, by peoples of Hokan-Siouan affiliation, possibly the Iroquoians" (Willey, 1958, p. 269).

[4] Hopewell site, mound 25, dated between 335 B.C. ±210 years (C–137, 2285±210 yrs. B.P., 1950; Arnold and Libby, 1951, p. 115), and A.D. 5±200 yrs. (C–136, 1951±200 yrs. B.P., 1950; ibid.)

[5] White site, Chenago County, N.Y. (M–176, 1050±250 yrs. B.P., 1955; Crane, 1956, p. 668).

[6] The latter figure is one of two dates on charcoal samples from different pits on the Castle Creek site, viz, A.D. 1435±200 years (M–179, 520±200 yrs. B.P., 1955; Crane, 1956, p. 668) and A.D. 1196±200 years (M–493, 760±200 yrs. B.P., 1956; Crane and Griffin, 1958, p. 1100). (Ritchie, 1934.)

a mechanism to account for the northeastern position of the Iroquois people and their culture, migration fails in demonstrating any route north, south, or west, over which archeology can convincingly trace a prior or developmental movement. Without question major movements of Iroquoian groups have taken place within the general area, as already noted for the exodus of Iroquoian groups from the St. Lawrence Valley, sometime in the 16th century, but this is quite another matter from deriving the Iroquois as a whole by mass movement from the same or another locality.

In 1952 a contrary or in situ hypothesis was proposed by Richard S. MacNeish (1952) which would derive Iroquois cultures from already recognized archeological assemblages within the Northeast.[7] This hypothesis maintains that there is a "cultural continuity from the Point Peninsula horizon to the historic Iroquois horizon," and that the Point Peninsula culture "which, with little regional variation was spread over southern and eastern Ontario and northwestern and central New York,"[8] "may be considered to be proto-Iroquois." From this general background, "four regional variants with an Owasco, or an Owascoid, type of material culture developed." There was

> a general tendency for these Owascoid variants to develop an Iroquoian type of material culture and to differ further in their material cultures. These further differentiations of the Iroquois general culture type represent the cultural assemblages of specific Iroquois tribes. [MacNeish, 1952, p. 89.]

According to MacNeish (ibid.), three of the Owasco lineages were developed in New York, one in the east leading to Mohawk, one in the north to Onondaga-Oneida, the third in the western part of the State being ancestral to Cayuga-Seneca (and probably the Susquehanna). In the Ontario Peninsula area the fourth Owasco variant was elaborated into the cultural units of the Neutral-Erie and Huron. Further regional differentiation and separation of the basic groups resulted in the emergence of the specific tribal subdivisions of historic times.

MacNeish's stimulating hypothesis has been variously praised and criticized, while for the most part being accepted as a working hypothesis by the majority of archeologists in the Iroquois field. MacNeish himself recognizes certain defects in the scheme which, while infinitely more promising than the migration interpretation, cannot yet claim full validity. Almost certainly, however, it will prove to be a sound basic assumption, but I believe that in its present form it is too simplistic and facile to account entirely for the evidence at hand.

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[7] Generally similar views had been earlier expressed, but not elaborated, by, for example, Kraus (1944, p. 311).

[8] Point Peninsula has, in fact, a much wider distribution than this and a great deal of regional variation, even within the area specified by MacNeish.

Moreover, it is partially inconsistent with existing radiocarbon dates for Owasco and Iroquois sites. In a word, I strongly suspect that Iroquoian cultures represent various composites of traits derived not only from Owasco and directly or indirectly from Point Peninsula, but from other cultures in the general area not comprehended within these cultural categories.

In support of the in situ hypothesis are the following facts, to which, while rejecting this assumption for want of adequate data at that time, I called attention 20 years ago (Ritchie, 1938, pp. 98–100): Corn, bean, and squash agriculture did not first appear in the Northeast with recognized Iroquois cultures. In New York, this agricultural complex, with ancillary hunting, fishing, and collecting, was unequivocally present in early Owasco manifestations, and there is some evidence that it goes back much further into the Point Peninsula horizon. Certain elements of the Iroquois settlement pattern are also found in Owasco, viz, fortified village sites containing deep storage pits, sometimes situated on hilltops remote from waterways. The Owasco manner of burying the dead in the simple flexed position, usually without grave goods, either in abandoned storage pits within or peripheral to the village area, or in small, nearby cemeteries, foreshadows similar practices of the prehistoric Iroquois.

A considerable number of artifact traits are common both to Owasco and Iroquois cultures (Ritchie, 1944, pp. 41, 46) and finally, the skeletal remains of both groups are metrically and morphologically so similar as to suggest a continuity of population of the Lenapid variety (Ritchie, 1944, pp. 74, 100–101; 1954, pp. 31–35; Ritchie et al., 1953, pp. 14–15; Neumann, 1952, pp. 23–25).

On an earlier level, the general ceramic continuity between late Point Peninsula and early Owasco has been shown by MacNeish and the writer, although with certain awkward and inexplicable gaps (Ritchie and MacNeish, 1949, pp. 120–121). For example, it is most difficult to account for the complete absence from the Owasco series of the rocker stamping and dentate decorative techniques, both of which had risen steadily in popularity through the known Point Peninsula developmental sequence (ibid., p. 118). Some continuity is also demonstrable in pipe forms, projectile points, barbed bone points and certain other traits of the stone and bone assemblages. Other traits, like the use of gorgets and the placing of grave goods with the dead, barely survived the Point Peninsula.

As with the Point Peninsula, our excavations in a large series of Owasco sites have disclosed major developmental trends within this tradition, traceable primarily in pottery and pipe typologies. Radiocarbon dates for certain of these sites, as already mentioned, range between about A.D. 905 and 1435. An important corollary of this

study, reflecting adversely on that part of the in situ hypothesis which derives the western Iroquois groups through Owasco antecedents in the Ontario Peninsula, is the failure to discover Owasco culture components west of the Genesee River in New York, despite numerous assertions to the contrary. In southern Ontario, later Point Peninsula developments seem to have proceeded along somewhat different lines, concurrently with Owasco developments in New York, to produce the earliest recognized Iroquois complex of that area, known as the Uren, believed by Wintemberg (1928, p. 51) to be proto-Neutral, and by MacNeish (1952, p. 87) to be in the line of development into Erie, Neutral, and Huron. The current picture of cultural continuity in southern Ontario seems securely founded on a remarkable stratigraphic sequence from the Frank Bay site, at the outlet of Lake Nipissing (Ridley, 1954, pp. 40–50), supported by evidence from other stratified or nonstratified sites in southern Ontario (Ritchie, 1949, pp. 3–24; Lee, 1952, pp. 70–73; Ridley, 1958, pp. 18–39).

Ridley's Frank Bay sequence consists of eight members, distinguished by cultural and soil differences, the lowest being preceramic. Beginning with the second level, attributable to the middle Point Peninsula, there is a series of discrete layers showing ceramic and other changes in material culture traits extending into the contact period. The materials found seem to illustrate a transition from middle into late Point Peninsula complexes, thence through a little-known stage which Ridley calls Frank Bay Transitional, and Lee elsewhere designates as the Glen Meyer Focus (Lee, Appendix to Ridley, 1958, pp. 39–40) to the first level of Iroquois ceramics, the Barrie-Uren complex, already mentioned. Directly above this level comes the clearly related Webb, or Webb-Middleport assemblage, followed by Lalonde, and finally by a complex containing European trade goods and historic period types of Huron pottery.

If we substitute a Glen Meyer for an Owasco stage in the transition from Point Peninsula to Iroquois, this southern Ontario sequence becomes the most convincing part of MacNeish's hypothesis.

Having recently restudied the Canadian materials I am also convinced that the important Oakfield assemblage in western New York, where excavations were conducted this summer (1958) by Dr. Marian White, in part under State Museum sponsorship, represents an extension into the State of the late Uren-Barrie complex from southern Ontario, rather than a local development (White, MS., pp. 179–182).

Unfortunately, while we have in New York well stratified sites of pre-Iroquoian horizons, nothing comparable to the Frank Bay station is known. It would be most helpful to discover here components which would illustrate how the corded collar pot types, linking

Owasco with early Iroquois (Ritchie and MacNeish, 1949, p. 121), gave rise, apparently so abruptly, to the incised collar forms of the latter, especially since these first-known incised forms represent the finest artistic achievement of its kind in the Iroquois cultures of New York. Perhaps this changeover from cord impressing to incising, postulated by MacNeish (MacNeish, 1952, pp. 16, 79), took place through the intermediacy of the interrupted linear technique, which had an ephemeral existence in very late Owasco and very early Iroquois times (Ritchie and MacNeish, 1949, pp. 115–116; MacNeish, 1952, pp. 18–19), but if so the change proceeded at an explosive rate.

It is also difficult to interpret such evidence as was found in our 1952 excavations on the Kelso site in central New York. Here 82 percent of a sample of 137 rim sherds belonged to the Owasco Corded Collar type.[9] This type had increased steadily in popularity since middle Owasco times until it constituted nearly one-fourth of the total ceramic content at the late Owasco Bainbridge site, which MacNeish postulated as leading directly into proto-Mohawk (MacNeish, 1952, p. 87). According to trends shown by our ceramic seriation studies, the Kelso site should be even later than Bainbridge, a conclusion supported by the fact that at the latter site, only 36 percent of the body sherds bore a check-stamped surface treatment, another ceramic trait with a rising index, while at Kelso fully 88.2 percent of the 960 body sherds were of this kind.[10] And yet not a single Kelso rim sherd showed incising, or even the hypothetically intermediary interrupted linear ornamentation.

However, except for the lack of incising, which has been regarded as a primary criterion of Iroquois ceramics, the data afforded by the Kelso site could place this site in a transition series, such as postulated by the in situ hypothesis.

Mention has already been made of the general parallels between Owasco and Iroquois settlement pattern traits. There are also some significant differences which pose a problem for the in situ hypothesis.

By the beginning of historic times the tribal groups of the Iroquois had been differentiated territorially, culturally, and linguistically. Each tribe, except perhaps the Oneida, had two or more semipermanent villages with satellite communities. Each tribe spoke a common dialect, and had a council of chiefs who represented not only the village but the constituent clans thereof. Probably clan lines crossed village lines by this period.

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[9] The only accompanying types were Owasco Platted and Bainbridge Notched Lip.

[10] Other varieties of body finish comprised corded (5 percent), smoothed-over cord (1.1 percent), and smooth (5 percent). For seriation of Bainbridge site, see Ritchie and MacNeish, 1949, pp. 118, 120.

Dwelling units were of longhouse type, sheltering an aggregate of nuclear families matrilineally related in a clan-structured society. The household group was, therefore, a unilaterally related kinship group plus a fringe of spouses. This was the social, economic, and to some extent the political unit. The extension of the local group structure to the Iroquois state, and the League as an expansion of the social and political ideology of longhouse society, have been shown by Fenton (1951).

The correlation of the sociopolitical aspects of Iroquois culture with the settlement pattern, forms part of our current archeological investigations. Historic accounts of Iroquois villages are unanimous in providing a picture congruous with archeological data from prehistoric and later sites in Ontario (Emerson, MS.), Pennsylvania (Kinsey, 1957, pp. 180–181), and New York (Grassmann, 1952, pp. 33–36; Guthe, 1957, pp. 6–7). Our excavations of 1957 on the Getman site in the Mohawk Valley have also disclosed the fact that the early Mohawk of the Upper Chance horizon were already occupying a palisaded settlement of longhouses, up to 90 feet in length, with multiple fires, apparently differing in no essential respects from the historic towns of the same area, although the radiocarbon date of the Getman site, as determined at the University of Michigan, is A.D. 1398±150 years (M–763, 560±150 years B.P., 1958).

We are attempting to locate still earlier Iroquois components suitable for settlement pattern studies, in order to determine how far back in time this village pattern extends, and what were its antecedents. Our excavations of 1958 on the Bates site uncovered, for the first time, an entire Owasco community, situated on the Chenango River in south-central New York.

The pottery from the Bates site lacks the collared and incised types of the Castle Creek horizon, and has no recognizable Iroquoian traits, yet a radiocarbon date on a hearth sample, just received from the University of Michigan, is equivalent to A.D. 1298±200 years (M–762, 660±200 years B.P., 1958). This falls between the two dates of A.D. 1196 and A.D. 1435 obtained for the Castle Creek site, and tends to support the validity of the latter, in view of the respective ceramic developments of the two sites. It is also only 100 years earlier than the A.D. 1398 date that I just reported for the early Mohawk-Iroquois Getman site which, if the carbon-14 figures are reliable, would have been approximately contemporaneous with the Castle Creek site, hence the Castle Creek complex could hardly have given rise to early Mohawk, as is postulated by the current in situ hypothesis.

The Bates site shared with the early Mohawk Getman site such features as a stockaded enclosure protecting the dwellings and storage

pits in which charred corn and wild vegetable-food remains were found. The evidence for house form is more equivocal. Because of the plethora of post molds resulting from rebuilding or repairing dwelling units it is uncertain whether round or oval houses are represented. Except for their larger size, approximately 23 feet in diameter, the former would accord with prior findings on the earlier Owasco Sackett or Canandaigua site (Ritchie, 1936, pp. 39–43) and would seem to denote single family habitations. An alternate interpretation, however, suggests the possibility of several stages of expansion of an oval house structure, conceivably a prototype of the longhouse. This latter interpretation, if sustained by excavations planned for 1959 on other Owasco sites, would greatly strengthen the in situ hypothesis.[11]

At present, the overall picture of Iroquois cultural development seems to me still obscure, and to require for its clarification considerable interdisciplinary research, cooperatively focused upon a carefully formulated and executed long-range plan of investigation. There is some agreement in recognizing two widely separated and discrete nuclear centers for this development, one in southeastern Ontario, the second, pari passu, in eastern, or northeastern New York and adjacent eastern Ontario. In this second center the evolution of classic Iroquois culture seems to have taken place.

The western center affords, I believe, the clearest archeological demonstration of a cultural continuum from middle Point Peninsula to Iroquois, but without the intermediacy of a true Owasco manifestation. Other Late Woodland culture complexes, not strictly comprehendable within the Point Peninsula tradition, probably also contributed to Iroquois development in this area.

In the eastern center, on the other hand, the sequence from Point Peninsula through Owasco into Iroquois, seems to be less well defined, because of apparent discontinuities and suggestions of possible diffusion between two concurrently developing groups, one Owasco, the other Iroquois. Further research, however, may remove certain of these difficulties, and clarify the palpable similarities already noted. They may also reveal in the eastern, as in the western center, other still unrecognized cultural contributors to Iroquois.

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[11] These excavations were centered on unexplored areas of the large Canandaigua site and on a previously unexcavated site of approximately similar size, the Maxon-Derby site, near Jordan, Onondaga County, N.Y. The latter may represent a slightly earlier stage of Owasco culture than the former. Charcoal samples from both have been submitted to the University of Michigan for radiocarbon dating.

At Canandaigua, the identifiable house-floor plans were again found to be circular, and about 12 feet in diameter. A round house, approximately 16 feet across, was also found at the Maxon-Derby site, but here we uncovered the post-mold pattern of a rectangular structure with rounded corners, measuring about 30 by 22 feet. This was traversed by one wall of an earlier or later structure of much larger size, apparently an oval house similar to one reconstruction at the Bates site. The complete clearance of this feature was postponed to 1960 for lack of adequate time.

Currently the evidence would seem to show that several house forms were in use by Indian groups sharing the Owasco culture; that two of these, the rectangular and the oval, were communal-type dwellings, which may have given rise to the multifamily longhouse of the Iroquois.

Gradually the distinctions between the eastern and western centers of development were blurred by interaction until a pan-Iroquois culture pattern had emerged by late prehistoric times.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 5. First Comment on William A. Ritchie's "Iroquois Archeology and Settlement Patterns"

By WILLIAM H. SEARS

FIRST COMMENT ON WILLIAM A. RITCHIE'S "IROQUOIS ARCHEOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS"

By William H. Sears
Florida State Museum

It is interesting to note the historical parallelism of Iroquois and Cherokee archeology. In both cases there was a rather lengthy period of attempted adaptation of very few real archeological facts to a combination of aboriginal and anthropological myth and, in both, efforts at study of the problems of historical development by archeological techniques have begun only in the last few years, and are only now really getting under way. The existence of a period of dependence on unverified and undemonstrable assumption became very real to me when one professional archeologist asked me seriously whether I really preferred my own attempts at comprehension of the archeological evidence, just then emerging for the Cherokee, to the evidence of Cherokee myth and folklore which the Cherokee themselves knew to be true.

Looking backward, it is surprising that the in-place hypotheses were not investigated first. By the nature of archeological evidence, they are certainly the easiest to prove or disprove. That this did not happen has something to say, I think, about the historic development of archeology in Eastern United States.

I might make the comment, easily done by one unfamiliar with the material, that such problems in tracing continuities as the abrupt disappearance of rocker and dentate stamping are due to still inadequate evidence. In consideration of the number of communities, each following to some degree its own course of development, which have been involved over more than a thousand years, it is not too surprising that evidence for particular transitions which may well have taken place during 1, or 10, generations, has not yet turned up. This is, of course, another way of saying that the centers for each new development, within the defined area, may well be different, so that what is brand new in one community may be the result of gradual development among close relatives 2 days' journey away.

As one who has been bedeviled by check-stamped pottery for a number of years, I was interested to note that the check-stamped

decoration is well established by mid-Owasco times. This certainly means that the Cherokee had nothing to do with the introduction of check-stamping to the Iroquois, since the Cherokee do not appear to have used the check stamp until after 1700. This appearance of the check stamp in the Northeast would appear to coincide roughly with a great spread of this technique in the Southeast, including such types as St. Johns, Savannah, Wheeler, Pontchartrain, and Wakulla.

It does not seem to me, basing my opinion on Ritchie's stated evidence and Byers' comment on distribution, that the longhouse is of great importance—by itself—as evidence in the study of Iroquois development. When it is present it may demonstrate that a community was clan structured. Certainly it is a multifamily dwelling, and one supposes that some system for structuring the relationships of the biological families in a longhouse was present in prehistoric times.

Yet the Owasco community pattern, individual houses, in a palisade, is well known in the Southeastern United States and northward up the Mississippi drainage. It first appears, apparently, with the Early Mississippi horizon, and continues to be important into the 16th century, as exemplified by descriptions of Maubila and Le Moyne's drawings of Timucua villages in Northeastern Florida. A clan structure was probably present in these towns, but I would suppose that in them, as with 18th-century Creek, Cherokee, and other groups, the town, expanded politically to locality with surrounding areas, was the vital sociopolitical factor. That is, that locality was primary, with kinship structures working under this. The data in Fenton's (1951) paper, cited by Ritchie, imply to me that this was also true for the Iroquois through their known history.

The longhouse then is possible evidence for the existence of a clan structure. It need not reflect the sociopolitical importance of this clan system. The longhouse, invented by some Iroquois town or borrowed from Algonkian neighbors, is not necessarily an indicator of social change, either in Iroquois development or as between the Iroquois and any of their neighbors. At best, its adoption as the dominant type of Iroquois domestic architecture would indicate some importance of clans. Neighbors with the same architecture may have had a clan structure but a very different type of overall social structure. For example, the Powhatan appear to have had longhouses, but an old Southeastern type of class structure with political and religious dominance centered in a small but carefully and rigidly marked upper class.

I would suggest then that the Iroquois share, and have shared for a lengthy portion of their prehistory, a Southeastern type of organiza-

tion in which the town, and locality, are the dominant factors, with a politically subsidiary clan-structured kinship system. The continuity of palisaded towns is perhaps of more importance than a change in the type of dwellings inside them.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 6. Second Comment on William A. Ritchie's "Iroquois Archeology and Settlement Patterns"

By DOUGLAS S. BYERS

SECOND COMMENT ON WILLIAM A. RITCHIE'S "IROQUOIS ARCHEOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS"

By Douglas S. Byers
Robert S. Peabody Foundation

I accept Ritchie's discussion of the evolution of styles of pottery attributed to the Iroquois from an early prototype in Point Peninsula, via Owasco or Glen-Meyer, to the final forms.

Never yet, however, has anyone brought forward convincing evidence that the people responsible for Point Peninsula pottery were primarily speakers of an Iroquoian tongue, nor anything but an assumption that bearers of Owasco or Glen-Meyer culture belonged to the same linguistic stock.

From a suburban position, at some distance from the center of Iroquoian development, one may take a somewhat detached view. Close contact with collections from Maine and New Brunswick has led me to make a few observations.

To begin with, pottery of Point Peninsula style is widely distributed, not only in Ontario and New York, but also across northern New England and into New Brunswick. Eastern sites are not as large and rich as those in New York and Ontario. There is a much smaller quantity of pottery, but it comprises local variants of such classic types as Vinette Dentate, Vinette Complex Dentate, Point Peninsula Rocker Stamped, Jack's Reef Dentate Collar, Jack's Reef Corded Collar, Point Peninsula Corded, and Jack's Reef Corded. The last-named is frequently modified by punctations. By strict definition, these local variants are not identical with classic types in spite of similar decoration, because pastes and firing are different. However, there seem to have been skilled potters and excellent clay in the St. John valley below Fredericton, for sherds from this area in the New Brunswick Museum are well executed and fired to a hardness unknown in the general run of Maine pottery.

Corded pottery of one sort or another, including corded-stick-impressed and corded-paddled, extends from Nova Scotia to Saskatchewan. Punctations are common on northern wares, but are rare in New York—Wickham Punctate, Jack's Reef Corded-Punctate, and Castle Creek Punctate are exceptions.

Elements of Owasco and Iroquoian styles also appear in Maine, but in this case the correspondence is only on the most general level except for a few sherds from vessels that may have been imports or the products of captives. In general, Owasco traits appear to have been used by people who had not followed the directions carefully. Obviously some cultural ferment was stirring in New York and Ontario that had no intimate and close connection with Maine.

A point I would like to make here is that pottery of this general style is widespread in an area traditionally Algonkian. Vessels often have nodes on the rim, fillets added to lips to thicken them, and are decorated with dentate or corded stamps applied in a variety of ways over all or a part of the exterior, as well as on interior surfaces of rims, and on the lip. In New England and the Maritime Provinces pottery of the general Point Peninsula tradition follows, in effect, the distribution of northern tribes—Abenaki, Pennacook, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Malecite—as opposed to speakers of the l-, n-, r-, and y-dialects of southern New England.

It does not appear to me that the Iroquois can take all credit for this. We are here dealing with something much larger than developing Iroquoian culture.

Turning momentarily to the Anasazi area, we note that linguistic stocks do not and need not conform to patterns of culture. Observe the Shoshonean Hopi and the Tewa of Hano living adjacent to one another on First Mesa with material traits that are in many respects uniform. When did the Hopi desert the other hunting-gathering Shoshoneans to become farmers and town builders? The Anasazi area comprises several linguistic stocks that have long been regarded as distinct. Linguistic differences and shifting culture of Plains tribes in historic times serve as further reminders that we cannot be too dogmatic about identifying languages with material remains.

The longhouse is often thought of as being a product of Iroquois architects, but the longhouse is also widely distributed in the Northeast, and is especially developed among the Delaware. Illustrations of longhouses among the Powhatans by John Smith and among the Roanoke by John White show that these people also used this supposedly Iroquoian form of house. It is known archeologically from Titicut, Mass. Biard speaks of it in Nova Scotia.

It appears to me that we must bring the Iroquois, like Mohammed, to the mountain of northeastern traits, including pottery and longhouses. They must have come so long ago that they have had time to become completely acculturated, and they must have come at a time when their own material culture lacked such traits as pottery that might survive as a trail to regions historically occupied by their Cherokee congeners. This would also give them time to develop

some of these traits to such an extent that people have readily accepted them as inventions of the Iroquois.

If I were asked to name any archeological group in the Northeast as candidates for the honor of introducing the Iroquoian language, my finger would settle on Lamoka, in spite of the fact that Willey has backed people of the Burial Mound stage for this position. Lamoka has long seemed out of place in this area; the Lamoka people may well be migrants from the South and West, possibly from the lower reaches of the Ohio. The distinctive beveled adz has been found not only in the Ontario peninsula, but also along the Allegheny in northwestern Pennsylvania; beyond that, the stonework of Lamoka gives no clue. The bone industry, however, points on down the Ohio toward the Kentucky Archaic. Webb and Haag (1940) pointed this out and Ritchie (1944) concurred; both sources enumerate similarities and differences. In the Kentucky Archaic there is an extensive bone industry. Utilitarian implements display many parallels between Lamoka and sites in Kentucky. Duplication of typical Lamoka notched antler strips at the Ward, Read, and Annis sites is particularly striking. Seeming identity of forms that do not appear to have any utilitarian function is, possibly, more convincing than parallel forms of awls, hafts for rodent incisors, and so forth.

No atlatl weight was found at Lamoka. Not one hook is recorded among the bone implements. It therefore seems necessary to add one more condition—that the Lamoka people and the people responsible for the sites in Kentucky must have separated before the stone weight was developed for the spearthrower.

I have already said that no one has offered proof that makers of Point Peninsula-Owasco pottery spoke Iroquois. There is no proof that Lamoka people spoke ancestral Iroquois either, nor that the people of the Indian Knoll Focus spoke ancestral Cherokee. Nor is there proof that the Lamoka people came from the South and that the Indian Knoll people did not come from the North as we were ready to believe they did 20 years ago. I can see no merit in my suggestion that Lamoka came from the South except that it offers a possible means of introducing ancestral Iroquoian into the lower Great Lakes basin at a time sufficiently remote to allow for acculturation to a northeastern pattern, and differentiation into dialects.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 7. Cherokee Archeology

By JOFFRE L. COE

CHEROKEE ARCHEOLOGY

By Joffre L. Coe
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One hundred and eighty-two years ago a gentleman from Philadelphia left Charlestown, S.C. to visit the Cherokee Nation in the westward mountains. Traveling alone on horseback he reached the headwaters of the Savannah River 3 weeks later and there at the abandoned Fort Prince George observed the old Cherokee town of Keowee. He described it as the "feeble remains of the once potent and renowned Cherokees: the vestiges of the ancient Indian dwellings are yet visible on the feet of the hills bordering and fronting on the vale, such as posts or pillars of their habitations. There are several Indian mounts or tumuli, and terraces" (Bartram, 1940, p. 270). After resting several days he left Fort Prince George and began the climb of the mountain proper. On the way he passed through several abandoned towns and finally, on reaching the summit, he saw the ruins of the "ancient famous town of Sticoe. Here was a vast Indian mount or tumulus and great terrace, on which stood the council-house, with banks encompassing their circus; here were also old Peach and Plumb orchards; some of the trees appeared yet thriving and fruitful" (ibid., p. 280). At this point, Bartram took the right-hand trail and began the descent of the Little Tennessee River into North Carolina and the "vale of Cowe." He passed through the towns of Echoe and Nucasse, and at Whatoga, lost his way and rode his horse up to "the council-house, which was a very large dome or rotunda, situated on the top of an ancient artificial mount" (ibid., p. 284). Later he reached his destination, the "capital town of Cowe," and again described the town house as standing "on the top of an ancient artificial mount of earth, of about twenty feet perpendicular" (ibid., p. 296). In other words, throughout his journey from Keowee to Cowe, Bartram observed the association of town houses and mound substructures in nearly every Cherokee town. In writing about them, however, he concluded that the "Cherokees themselves are as ignorant as we are, by what people or for what purpose these artificial hills were raised; . . . that they found them in much the same condition as they now appear, when their forefathers arrived from the West" (ibid., p. 296). This statement has had a profound effect upon the

interpretation of Cherokee prehistory and has consistently been used as prima facie evidence for the facts that: (1) Cherokees did not build temple mounds, and (2) Cherokees only recently settled in the area. It seems to me that both of those assumptions are untenable in light of present knowledge and that Bartram's statements should be considered in the same spirit as his description of the "Elysian fields" and the "companies of young, innocent Cherokee virgins."

By the end of the 19th century the linguistic relationship of the Cherokee to the northern Iroquois and the Carolina Tuscarora was fairly well known. The diversity of their habitat and customs, however, had led to considerable speculation as to when and where these tribes had originally separated. In 1898, Mooney stated in his "Myths of the Cherokees":

> The Iroquoian stock, to which the Cherokee belong, had its chief home in the north, ... It is evident that tribes of common stock must at one time have occupied contiguous territories, and such we find to be the case in this instance. The Tuscarora and Meherrin, and presumably also the Nottoway, are known to have come from the north, while tradition and historical evidence concur in assigning to the Cherokee as their early home the region about the headwaters of the Ohio, ... [Mooney, 1900, p. 17.]

Mooney adds, however, that—

> while there can now be no question of the connection, the marked lexical and grammatical differences indicate that the separation must have occurred at a very early period. [Ibid., p. 16.]

As the efforts of the archeologists and ethnologists continued during the first decade of the 20th century it began to appear that the Iroquois shared more traits with the southern or midwestern area than they did with their northern neighbors. In 1916, Parker formulated a new hypothesis on Iroquois origin in which he hoped to explain the data then available. He suggested that the home of all the Iroquois was in the middle Mississippi Valley rather than in the area north of the St. Lawrence. He postulated that the Cherokee moved up the Ohio first and were followed by other groups of proto-Iroquois. Somewhere on the way, probably near the Kanawha or Big Sandy Rivers, these groups came into conflict and the Cherokee went south while the others continued north to their historic locations. Parker published substantially the same argument again in 1922 and 1926. To summarize briefly, there have been many published accounts dealing with the origin and migration of the Cherokee. They have been moved into their mountain home from the north, the west, the south, and even from the east. The one point, however, that these fact-folklore-fiction accounts did have in common was a belief in recent arrival of the Cherokee into the Southern Appalachian area.

According to these accounts they had just settled in their historic location when European contact was first made.

The archeological studies that have been made in the Cherokee area have not helped clarify this situation. If anything, they have resulted in more confusion. The first extensive excavations were begun by Cyrus Thomas about 75 years ago, and he had no trouble arriving at a "Cherokee complex" (Thomas, 1890). The sites that he investigated in the area of historic Cherokee occupation were, of course, Cherokee. Since his main ambition was to demonstrate that mounds were built by Indians and not by some vanished and mystical race he had little incentive to look for depth in time or prior occupation by non-Cherokee.

Thirty-two years after Thomas published his "Cherokee in Pre-Columbian Times," Harrington (1922) published his "Cherokee and Earlier Remains on the Upper Tennessee River." This latter study was based upon fieldwork done by Harrington and Turbyfill in the fall of 1919 on the Tennessee River between the mouths of the Little Tennessee and the Hiwassee Rivers. This much maligned work was actually progressive for its time and Harrington's cultural sequence of three periods still has some validity today. His identification of these cultures as the remains of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Iroquoian (Cherokee), unfortunately, left much to be desired, but I should add that in explaining cultural change by migration Harrington was keeping good company and that this convenient device continues to be used when more specific data is not available. In concluding, Harrington suggested that there were at least two interpretations for the origin of the Cherokee. In the first, he followed Parker's migration theory and brought the Cherokee "in from the upper Ohio valley in comparatively recent times . . ." and Bartram's observation that "the mounds exhibited the same appearance upon the arrival of the Cherokees as they now do." In the second, he suggested that the Cherokee arrived "in the upper Tennessee valley at an early date and displaced the more primitive Algonquian tribes which then occupied the region" (Harrington, 1922, pp. 290–292). Harrington was inclined to favor this last point of view and felt that there was considerable evidence to show that his "second culture" was actually ancestral Cherokee.

Archeology on a grand scale did not begin in Tennessee until January 1934. Within 6 months a total of 23 sites were investigated in the Norris Basin. Fifty-four wooden structures were examined on these sites and 20 of them were identified as "town houses." In Webb's report, published in 1938, he devoted considerable space to trait-list comparisons between sites within the basin and between a few selected sites known elsewhere in the neighboring areas. He

recognized that some of the material from certain "cave sites" differed from the "valley sites" and suggested a primitive Algonquian connection. In this respect he apparently was following Harrington's suggestion concerning the "round grave" culture, although he does not say so. The "valley sites" were divided into two groups which he called the "small-log town-house people" and the "large-log town-house people." These people he reasoned could not have been Cherokee because the "Cherokee never at any time built rectangular town houses. All such structures appearing on sites occupied by Cherokee in historic times are to be regarded as the work of an earlier people." Furthermore, the "Cherokee built only circular town houses on mounds erected by an earlier people . . . ." He finally dismissed the Cherokee completely by concluding that they had "first occupied Little Tennessee River in the last quarter of the seventeenth century" and besides "Cherokee material culture cannot be exactly defined because many traits are too widespread" (Webb, 1938, pp. 277–379). Creek material culture, however, he could define, for he proceeded to identify the builders of the "large-log town-houses" as the Creek and the builders of the "small-log town-houses" as the Yuchi. The concept of culture change through time is completely absent from this study. All observed differences were assumed to be the result of "different people." The builders of the small-log town houses were, according to Webb, a "separate and distinctly different people with whom the Creeks were associated on terms of friendship . . . ." (ibid., p. 380). This need for friendship certainly becomes obvious when it is found that these "separate and distinctly different people" sometimes occupied a superimposed position on the same site.

Following the work in the Norris Basin, the University of Tennessee continued the extensive program of excavations in and around the Cherokee area until the beginning of World War II. In the fall of 1934 Lewis excavated a town-house mound on the lower French Broad River in eastern Tennessee. This was one of the sites that Webb used for his comparison and it showed a great deal in common with sites 10 and 19 in the Norris Basin. In a brief paper published in 1935 Lewis stated that the "engraved designs on shell gorgets, pottery designs, and other cultural-indicative materials seem to suggest that the inhabitants were certainly not Cherokee . . . ." (Lewis, 1935, p. 158).

In 1941 the report of the 1934 excavations at the Peachtree mound was published. This was a site situated in the heart of the Cherokee country in western North Carolina. It was occupied during the historic period, and, for just cause, the authors "asserted that the traits reported here do represent the material culture of a group of

Cherokee" who had inhabited this site (Setzler and Jennings, 1941, p. 12). In brief, it was a pyramidal substructure mound which contained a series of superimposed town houses. In most respects it did not differ greatly from the sites previously mentioned in east Tennessee, but the ceramic style did. Approximately 90 percent of the pottery was grit tempered and carved paddle stamped. This, of course, contrasted sharply with the shell-tempered smooth ware in Tennessee and seems to have assumed undue proportions as an indicator of Cherokee culture.

It is of special interest to note that Setzler and Jennings were not unduly influenced by Bartram's ghost. They realized that this was a mound built by the people who used it and that this culture obviously had some time depth in the area. They also suggested that it was—

> possible that the three levels described by Harrington should be considered as a Cherokee complex. If so, the "Round Grave People" (would) typify the culture used by the Cherokee upon their arrival in the Tennessee Valley; the pre-Cherokee might be a transitional stage; while the Cherokee represents the final adoption of the general Southeastern pattern. [Setzler and Jennings, 1941, p. 52.]

Two years later, Lewis (1943) again briefly discussed the Cherokee problem in a paper entitled "Late Horizons in the Southeast." He continued the interpretation begun by Webb and identified his Dallas Focus with the Muskhogean and his Mouse Creek Focus, specifically, as Yuchi. He also considered the Cherokee occupation to be too little and too late to be significant in an interpretation of Tennessee prehistory. He did suggest, however, that "the Cherokee may have been responsible for a series of cultures of respectable antiquity which centered in Georgia . . . ." (Lewis, 1943, p. 311). This was based upon the fact that on some Cherokee sites there was a "definite association of check-stamped and complicated-stamped pottery with historic Cherokee culture . . . ." (ibid., p. 311).

Lewis and Kneberg in publishing their excellent study, "Hiwassee Island," in 1946, were again faced with the problem of identifying Cherokee culture. For the most part they followed the line of reasoning previously outlined. They identified the mound-building period there with the Creeks, and they stated that "It is our conviction that the Cherokee never inhabited the lower Hiwassee River or the Tennessee River until long after white contact" (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946, p. 17). In this connection it is interesting to recall that Webb predicted in 1938 that if the—

> idea is at all tenable that the Cherokee erected historic circular town houses on earth mounds built by this earlier people [Creeks], it should be possible to find one mound as yet undisturbed in the region of the Cherokee settlement, which might show the pattern of a "rotunda" at its top and a rectangular post-mold pattern at its base. [Webb, 1938, p. 377.]

Lewis and Kneberg found the rectangular structures at Hiwassee Island as predicted, but they also found circular structures associated with early phases of mound building.

It should also be noted that at this site a small percent of the pottery associated with the Hiwassee or earlier component showed complicated stamped designs of the "Etowah variety," and that a few complicated stamped sherds similar to the "Lamar variety" were found associated with the Dallas or later component. At the Peachtree site there was something of a parallel situation. The primary mound contained a substantial amount (22.8 percent) of shell-tempered pottery. This Lewis and Kneberg have identified as "Dallas" and imply that this earlier occupation at Peachtree was probably Creek and not Cherokee. The presence of red-filmed, red-on-buff, and stamped pottery of the "Etowah variety," however, suggests a closer correlation with their earlier Hiwassee component. The later period at Peachtree was represented almost entirely by "Lamar type" pottery and this material is what should be compared with the Dallas component at Hiwassee Island where similar material was found. In brief, Lewis and Kneberg have suggested a high degree of correlation between Cherokee culture and the long sequence of complicated stamped pottery in the Georgia area, and, at least, in Tennessee, the late arrival of the Cherokee and their settlement in towns that had previously been prepared for them by the Creeks.

This association of the Georgia tradition of stamped pottery with the Cherokee was given a strong endorsement in 1955 by Sears in his article "Creek and Cherokee Culture in the 18th Century." In this paper Sears elaborated on the Lewis and Kneberg suggestion that the complicated stamped pottery in Georgia was part and parcel of Cherokee culture. He further suggested that this cultural development took place in Georgia north of the fall line and that "the 18th-century Cherokee culture developed in the Underhill area and later spread to the north." Although this may have been the case some of the reasons he offered apparently need reexamining. To say that the "angular motifs characteristic of Cherokee complicated stamping appear only in north Georgia . . . ." overlooks the existence of similar motifs in the Pee Dee area of North and South Carolina. Also, while check stamping may be a "late addition to the Cherokee ceramic complex" in north Georgia it appears much earlier in the area of the Middle and Valley Settlements (Sears, 1955, p. 147).

Although it is true that the "Lamar" pottery style can be associated with historic Cherokee, it should be emphasized that the historic Catawba and a number of Muskhogean groups were doing just as well by this popular style. While archeologists must use the evidence that is available to them they should certainly not lose sight of the fact

that there is no necessary correlation between ethnic and ceramic continuity. For example, the Occanneechi made a complete transfer from cord and net-marked pottery in 1675 to simple and check-stamped pottery in 1700, and their linguistic cousins, the Catawba, had adopted the "Lamar" style nearly a hundred years earlier. While it may be that the hand that rocks the cradle molds the character of a nation I do not believe that the shape of the paddle that paddles the pot has quite the same effect.

The Cherokee settlements in historic times were far from homogeneous, and there are no compelling reasons why they should have been more so a few hundred years earlier. Those towns closest to and first to come under the influence of the Mississippian type cultures should be expected to reflect that situation, and the difference between Hiwassee and Peachtree may be one of degree rather than kind. In the same way, it would be surprising to find that the Underhill towns of the Cherokee did not participate in the ceramic tradition of north Georgia. All of Cherokee culture certainly cannot be identified through time by a single ceramic label.

Finally, it seems hardly necessary to look for any recent migration of the Cherokee into their historic area. There is sufficient archeological data to suggest that they were already occupying it by the close of the Archaic Period. In western North Carolina the Early Woodland Period began with the introduction of ceramics and small conical burial mounds. The basic pottery was cord and fabric marked but plain and stamped wares became progressively more important. Simple, check, and angular complicated stamps were applied to vessels with flat or pedestal bases and tetrapod supports. Toward the end of this period the rims were thickened and collars were added. Incised and punctated decorations were applied together with castellations and nodes. The significance in this is that here in the Cherokee area there appear, apparently as early as in New York, certain characteristics that have become closely identified with the northern Iroquois. It is also significant that these characteristics appear on pottery that seems to be ancestral to that used by at least some of the historic Cherokee.

By tradition, history, archeology, and intuition the Cherokee have been moved south from the Ohio and the St. Lawrence, west from the Mississippi, east into Tennessee, and north out of Georgia. For the most part, the conclusions regarding the Cherokee have come about as the byproduct of work oriented toward other problems. In recent years the University of Georgia has been working directly with the Cherokee problem in its State and this work should contribute much to a better understanding of Cherokee occupation there. I do not believe, however, that work on the periphery will ever solve the heart

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of this problem. A thorough investigation of the Middle and Valley towns of the Cherokee must be completed before many of the present questions can be answered.[1]

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[1] The University of North Carolina is beginning in 1960 a 5-year program of archeological research devoted to these problems of Cherokee origin and cultural tradition.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 8. Comment on Joffre L. Coe's "Cherokee Archeology"

By CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS

COMMENT ON JOFFRE L. COE'S "CHEROKEE ARCHEOLOGY"

By Charles H. Fairbanks
Florida State University

Coe raises two problems, the solution to either of which would be of considerable value to the general understanding of the relationship between the Iroquois and Cherokee. The first concerns the origin of Cherokee ceramic styles. The second concerns similar questions regarding the relationships between Cherokee and other Southeastern pottery styles.

Coe has indicated that peripheral 18th-century Cherokee sites contain, among other styles, both check-stamped and complicated-stamped pottery. Check-stamped pottery first appeared in the Southeast at about 200 B.C. After a fairly short duration it was replaced in some places by simple-stamped pottery. In other places it was replaced by complicated-stamped pottery. Rectilinear stamps of the Etowah styles may have been confined to the Piedmont region of Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. Curvilinear stamps of the Savannah, Willbanks, and Lamar styles spread gradually northward along the Atlantic slope until they reached such varied peoples as the Iroquoian Cherokee and the Siouan Catawba.

At the time of the DeSoto passage through the Southeast in 1539–41, the expedition traversed a large area north of Florida where the place names were Muskogean. After this they came to an area where probable Cherokee forms are recorded. The only late prehistoric pottery type of comparable extent north of peninsular Florida is the Lamar area. It seems likely that Muskogean peoples, at least the Hitchiti, made Lamar styles of pottery.

While these developments were taking place, check-stamped techniques were slowly spreading up the Atlantic slope ahead of complicated stamping. By Castle Creek times they were present among such linguistically diverse groups as the Iroquois and Munsee Delaware.

During the 18th century the Cherokee made check-stamped pottery quite similar to that of the Muskogean Apalachee and Ocmulgee, the

Siouan Sara and Occaneechi, the Iroquois proper, and the Algonquian Delaware. Cherokee complicated-stamped pottery was also shared with the Muskogean Apalachee and Hitchiti, as well as the Siouan Catawba. The Muskogean inhabitants of the Georgia coast made related styles.

One basic problem is certainly to explain the reappearance, on an 18th-century horizon, of check-stamped pottery in the Southeast. Cherokee, Sara, Occaneechi, Iroquois, Delaware, Apalachee, Timucua, Ocmulgee, and probably Hitchiti made this style. It had been generally absent for over a millennium in the Southeast but was present to some extent on the Middle Atlantic slope during the preceding centuries.

Are we to explain the general popularity of the style in the Southeast historic sites as due to southward raids by Iroquois during the 18th century? It could as well be related to the dispersion of the Delaware in Revolutionary times. Or are we to consider that the Cherokee, and other tribes as well, reverted to an ancestral style under the disorganizing conditions of the colonial skin-trade? If we use it as evidence that the Cherokee originated in the Southeast we must apply the same rule to the other Siouan and Muskogean peoples who shared the style. Or are we to regard it as an independent development resulting in a simplification of stamping techniques under the rapid acculturation of the times? The presence of check-stamped pottery in prehistoric Cherokee levels would argue against this assumption.

Very similar questions are raised by the circumstance that Cherokee, Catawba, and Hitchiti made "Lamar" styles of complicated-stamped pottery and suggest that we cannot prove the Southeastern origins of the Cherokee by this evidence. While we maintain that there is no necessary connection between linguistic forms and ceramic technologies, we must be alert to the possibility of using material culture clues to unravel the entire culture history. The present evidence strongly suggests that the Cherokee–Iroquois separation took place some time ago. There would appear to have been sufficient time for the Iroquois to have acquired the material culture of a northern area and the Cherokee to have acquired Southern Appalachian styles.

We cannot, at present, be sure that any late check-stamped or curvilinear complicated-stamped pottery is necessarily Cherokee. We cannot, therefore, use their ceramic styles as evidence for the Southeastern origin of the Cherokee. What we do need is a better description of the range of Cherokee ceramics and additional information on 18th-century Cherokee culture. The direct historical approach offers great rewards, but it cannot be applied on the basis of test-pit samples. Ritchie and MacNeish (1949) have indicated the origins of various

Iroquois tribal ceramic complexes in New York State. The same results can be expected in the Southeast.

On the ethnohistorical level, we should consider the rewards that might result from a careful comparison of Cherokee culture, as revealed in contemporary documents, with the complete archeological manifestation. On the basis of present evidence we can suggest that the Cherokee were resident in the Southeast for a fairly long time. They certainly had time to participate in the ceremonial, ceramic, and general cultural evolution of the region. That the Iroquois also participated in a similar endemic culture pattern in New York State simply means that the two peoples separated fairly early. The Catawba, Cherokee, and probably the Hitchiti seem to have been equally long in the Southeast, judging from their curvilinear stamped pottery.

The Muskogee or Upper Creek seem to be either more recent arrivals or not to have taken over as much of the Southern Appalachian tradition. This may be less a function of time than of their more western position and orientation. At any rate, we do not yet know enough about Cherokee ceramics to deduce much about tribal movements from their paddle-carving predilections.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 9. Eastern Woodlands Community Typology and Acculturation

By JOHN WITTHOFT

EASTERN WOODLANDS COMMUNITY TYPOLOGY AND ACCULTURATION

By John Witthoft
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Field studies of North Carolina Cherokee ethnology pose many problems concerning the past and present culture of the reservation. Some of the most difficult of these pertain to the continuum between the aboriginal farming village and the modern chaotic plantation farmstead settlement pattern. Other Indian communities which I have visited pose similar problems: how did the modern disorganized cultural and social situations grow out of a very different past, a past we know best in the archeology of the aboriginal village? Here the mere reconstruction of past situations is a peripheral question; a more central one is, what were and are the actual contexts for the culture traits and behavior patterns that we observe as vestiges and that we elicit as memory-ethnology? Certainly we are not examining the mere fossils of a way of life that ended four centuries ago. Rather, the ethnographic data pertain to many differing contexts that span this time interval; they are fragments of many things, rather than the imperfect content of a single cultural entity.

In field studies of Cherokee herbalism and magical practice, I became concerned with problems of time level and acculturation stage for many of these phenomena. Generally, I seem to be studying the medicine practice of 1850, a complex quite different from that of the present and from that of the period of first contact. I compiled a series of fragmentary essays toward a history of Cherokee medicine, rather than a compendium of Cherokee pharmacology and practice. Kinship, house life, and many other phases of Cherokee life required similar definition of context and time level. Furthermore, it seemed possible to deal with these shifting phenomena by stages rather than as disconnected data of history. I began to discuss these problems with more old-fashioned Indians and my present thinking follows their ideas very closely. This view is neither very spectacular nor very optimistic, but I believe it has relevance to many of our modern reservation situations.

In agricultural areas of the Eastern Woodlands and Mississippi Basin, the ancient community as seen dimly through archeology and

history was remarkably homogeneous. It was a compact village made up of households of somewhat various sizes, surrounded by the agricultural land of the community. Its topography was much like that of the ancient and medieval farming village of Europe and the Near East. However, unlike the feudal towns of the Old World, its households were generally larger than the nuclear family and its social structures were markedly matriarchal. Households composed of more than one married couple were ordinary, and in some areas the normal household was a group of sisters and parallel cousins (sisters in the local classificatory kinship systems) with their children, grandchildren, and other relatives of their lineage, along with husbands of various other lineages. As in the Southwest, a husband was attached to his wife's household more than he was a part of it. His primary roots were in his mother's household, and at times he seemed to be little more than a visitor in his wife's home.

Within agricultural North America, it is possible to do some rough mapping of community-pattern types. With a developing archeology of the villages, greater precision will be possible. In marginal areas, such as northern New England and Minnesota, our information will continue to be vague, because of sparse historical data, early destruction of native culture patterns, and the poverty of archeological resources. However, within broad frames we can map several subtypes of village life and plot concentric zones of population density within areas. In this attempt, the Southwest and the Missouri Valley region will be omitted even though these are of equal importance to the continental picture.

In the Southeast and Mississippi Valley, villages were made up of small houses occupied by households not much larger than the nuclear family. Whether fortified or not, houses were closely packed around a central plaza or square. This plaza served as a temple area for community ritual, and may sometimes have been an actual building rather than a mere floor. Near this square and in a central area was the men's house which was both a home and a ritual building. It was occupied by men of the community who were not resident in their mothers' houses or in the homes of their spouses. Many of them were older men and widowers, and some were men who had married into the community but who had no share in the land titles because they belonged to lineages that were located elsewhere. This special building was the nucleus of men's activities, and it served as the temple for their ritual, war rites, ball play ceremony, and the formal training of youth. Men's houses are best represented by the earth lodge or hothouse of the Creeks and Cherokee. Many of the temple-mound structures of the Southeast and Mississippi Valley seem to be archeological buildings of this sort.

The center of distribution for this settlement plan, with small houses clustered around a plaza and men's house, is in the lower Mississippi Valley and the valleys of the Arkansas and the Red Rivers. In those regions, towns were largest, were most numerous, and had the highest population densities within each community. Farther to the east and north, communities of this pattern become smaller and less numerous than those in the lower valley, although some sites on the upper Mississippi are more sizable than any in the Atlantic drainage systems. The northeastern limits of this settlement pattern are in the upper Ohio Valley (Monongahela Woodland and related Fort Ancient complexes of the Allegheny Valley), the central Piedmont (including the Siouan sites and the Albemarle sites to the north of them in Maryland), and Secotan and related sites of the North Carolina Tidewater. One is tempted to point out similarities between these towns and those settlements of Amazonia which include a men's house. The more ancient ancestors of late villages of our Southeast were apparently smaller complexes of small houses, and were probably much like early village complexes of the Southwest, especially Hohokam.

A second settlement pattern is characterized by very large houses compacted into a settlement without separate temple or plaza. Such a community consisted of 1 to 20 longhouses. Dwellings were as large as 30 by 130 feet. They were occupied by large households in which classificatory sisters were the central figures. Each house served as a temple as well as a dwelling. The greatest concentration of villages of this pattern was in Ontario, with smaller and fewer communities to the south and east. The Susquehannock towns of this type are fewer and smaller than the Five Nations settlements, while some of the Virginia Tidewater communities seem to represent the southern margin of this settlement type. The house life of these communities would be much like that of the Amazonian peoples of longhouse towns, such as the Witoto.

In the northern region of large houses for extended families, earlier town types seem to have had fewer houses rather than smaller dwellings. In fact, many earlier sites which are of the Late Woodland stage appear to have but one or two large houses for the entire community. In historic times, the longhouse gave way to smaller dwellings, mainly log houses of frontier pattern. However, the large dwelling had housed ritual functions which could not be met by a small building or by an open square. Thus the large dwelling of prehistoric times survived as a special temple, and continues to exist as the ritual structure of the pagan Iroquois.

In both community patterns, women's agricultural roles were central, and men's economic roles were subsidiary. Male social and

political roles were likewise secondary. Despite male emphasis on warfare, war lacked major economic motivation, and conquest was an unknown objective until the appearance of firearms and the fur trade. This village community had much in common with those of the early village horizon in the Near East, but the contrasts between the two types of Neolithic are most instructive. The American communities differed in that their productive economy was botanically centered in all of its details, with no significant domesticated animals. There was a horticultural rather than an agricultural flavor to all of its cultivation. Power sources other than community manpower were unknown, and neither the domesticated animal nor the prisoner of war was of an economic significance. The community was often larger than a normal Early Village community of the Near East. The American village-farming pattern of life had a long local history rather than being a recent invention or a new introduction. Finally, there is no obvious hint that any indigenous forces were at work which would shift the economic control of agriculture toward male dominance. Nor were there any discernible trends in social organization which would alter the remarkable matriarchal cast of these societies, as compared with the conjectured revolution in society that came with the tremendous upsurge of warfare and of animal husbandry in the Neolithic of the Near East. I believe that all of these traits were tightly interrelated and interdependent in a formally functional sense.

While these native cultures were alien indeed to the cultures of the European colonists, they were also very different from what we see today at Cherokee or in other Eastern Woodlands communities. The ancient communities show many segments of culture-content that we could scarcely reconstruct from the ethnology but which are implicit in the archeology. In this sense, the archeology can take us several steps beyond what ethnology could do, as in L. H. Morgan's "Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines" (Morgan, 1881). At the same time, much in the culture-content and behavior of Cherokee, Creek, or Iroquois today has its roots in the life of this ancient village-community. The deeper our field studies, the larger proportion of this ancient culture becomes apparent.

However, in the ethnological field studies I do not believe that we are approximating any study of this ancient community, nor are we dealing with the residues of some mixture of this aboriginal culture with a European complex. There are two major phenomena that I believe we are coming into some contact with, and that we actually are studying. The first is the recent existence and recent truncation of very specific, highly eclectic and functionally structured cultures which American Indian communities had constructed out of cultural

material of both aboriginal and European origin. The second is the destruction of these American culture complexes by interaction with a modern cosmopolitan culture. They are destroyed not by interaction of traits and ideas, but by economic and social determinism, by processes of economic competition, and by social ranking.

These intermediary cultures, built from an exotic heritage, are of primary interest to the ethnologist. Although they had tremendous diversity, I have tried to order them by types in terms of what I think are their major characteristics. These characteristics shall be noted briefly, although all variants need much analysis and comparison. The first type is what I refer to as a domiciliated community. It carries a mission culture. The people have been settled together by external authority and are governed by external authority. Their communities are small and the economic practice is largely borrowed from Europe, especially in agriculture. Native language persisted but developed literary models and it was subjected to conscious selection of vocabulary. Kinship and social organization correspond closely to European models with native terminology highly and consciously modified to satisfy a descriptive kinship system. Such cultures are apparent among the Mohawk, Abenaki, Penobscot, 19th-century Catawba, 18th-century Delaware, and a number of other extinct communities. They show many interesting culture-history strands: less rapid decay of minor technologies, more rapid loss of important economic practices, and most rapid loss of native religious and ideological systems; the survival of a great body of vestiges of older Indian and European supernaturalism as superstition alongside of an introduced official religion; the substitution of European medicine and book herbalism for native herbalism rather than the adoption of a genuine European folk-medicine or any but fragmentary survival of native medicine; the survival of native language as a household language with extensive translations of European terms into the native tongue; long survival of native kinship terms completely revised to fit European incest regulations and European kin charts; widespread adoption of the most conservative European crafts in all their details, such as basket and broom making. Such cultures have generally been short lived and soon absorbed into the general population, but a few have histories as long as any of our settlements. Today, however, we are generally dealing with their vestiges in the communities of the Eastern Woodlands. These cultures represent the most intensive and selective effect of a dominant culture upon a subjugated one, which generally produces as its end result a minor variant of a local white culture pattern.

These should not be confused with the cultures of remnant groups, often improperly called submerged groups. The remnant group

represents the unorganized but intense effect of a dominant and large European population upon a small relic of Indian population left behind the frontiers. These cultures have suffered rapid truncation of all details of native culture, but in a somewhat selective fashion. The result is a blend which is almost entirely of European aspect but carries scattered minor elements of aboriginal origin. As compared with neighboring white communities, these communities carry an old-fashioned rural white culture, they have a few Indian traits, and they represent a depressed social status. Remnant groups are most important because there have been so many of them in our past. Much in the way of Indian genes has entered the American population through their disappearance, without a comparable cultural continuum.

Much in our larger Indian communities today reminds us of these smaller communities and their cultural processes, but should not be confused with them. The resemblances are largely because all culture forms of the past are being rapidly and drastically modified by the same powerful forces. The Cherokee, the Seneca, the Sioux, the Navaho, and many other peoples who today are our primary resources for ethnological field study have totally different histories. This is due in part to the size of their communities, and in part to the survival of internal authority. These cultures are referred to as reservation cultures. They are exceedingly diverse and have differed greatly in themselves from generation to generation, but they represent great and creative realms of culture interaction, acculturation, and invention. Reservation cultures shall continue for some time to be the great fields of American local ethnology. The communities represent important national resources in population, genetic stock, vigor, individualism, and philosophy, if only the peoples can find their places in American life without the vast losses in personality and spirit that they are suffering today.

Reservation cultures were not the result of perpetuating native cultures into recent times, or of the dilution of these with European culture traits. Neither were they the result of blending European and aboriginal culture traits into a mixed pattern better fitted to new conditions, or of a replacement of native forms by European practice. Rather, reservation cultures appear to have been the result of a quite unconscious but highly selective process of adoption, interaction, and invention of culture traits. The result is a live, adaptive, and highly integrated system of behavior, belief, and technique well fitted to life in a specific environment and age. The growth, function, and decay of a reservation culture is the most significant phase of the life history of a reservation community, and it can be studied in many different aspects or strands.

The major traits of reservation cultures are as follows: Autonomous political and social authority which more or less effectively resists external coercion; large community size; more intensive contacts between community members than with other individuals for practically the whole community; persistance of native religion and ideology with some modification in the fields of ethics and philosophy preceding any modification of formal theology; native religion dominant in inner political and social affairs of the community; survival of native technology with very little general resistance to influence by European technology and with often rapid and wholesale adoption of selected technological details and complexes from outside; survival of native language as a first language, with abundant invention of new names for alien objects, ideas, and concepts; most drastic and rapid acculturation in the field of material culture; survival of native herbalism, medicine, and midwifery as integrated systems with survival of their philosophic correlatives, and with many minor borrowings from both folk medicine and formal medicine; prolonged nursing of infants and permissive treatment of children; survival of native kinship and social systems which undergo change due to new situations but which are not revised into any consistency with European models, either in behavior or in terminology; survival of native marriage systems and incest regulations in behavior as long as native kinship terminology survives; survival of native agricultural practice and supernaturalism with accommodations for many introduced species and techniques; survival of a native botany and an accompanying economic plant lore, accommodating many introduced plants with new native names; distinct culinary practice with many major traits not found except within a single community.

Each of these traits can be explored in detail, but each represents a series of structures that was adaptive, effective, and interrelated to the rest of the culture in an earlier setting. In many ways these features resemble the major characteristics of the cultures of national groups which preserve their identity among us, except that the content is much more alien than that of any national group culture.

Perhaps the most important phase of reservation cultures is what is happening to them today. The problems which Indians face today are the same ones all of us face—problems of community survival and progress, problems of preserving some personal integrity despite rapid culture change, problems of ego-survival in the face of powerful threats to personality. Reservation cultures are making so much greater a transition in entering the modern world and in coming to share in a modern cosmopolitan culture, that the threat is indeed overwhelming. Culture change is mainly generationwise, with marked differences between parent and child. We do not have

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enough adaptability to permit any great modifications within the experience of an individual's life.

I do not know what the community of the future will be, except that some day it will vanish into the general population. The immediate future holds little promise, for we see too little progress in community betterment, too much discontent, too poor a public-health picture, too little economic betterment, growing social fragmentation, culture loss rather than replacement, and increasing production of aberrant personalities. These can be deadly threats to any community anywhere, but they are cast in especially severe forms for the reservation community. As elsewhere, economic problems may be pressing, but the deadly threats lie in realms of culture and society. At the present time, reservation communities and cultures are in the position of national groups. In the future, they will follow the historical paths seen in the past of remnant groups. Through obvious social and economic process, the reservation communities will be absorbed into the lowest economic and social caste of each region. We see little chance for the conservation of tradition, values, intellectual resources, or genetic assets in the process of merging with a cosmopolitan culture.

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Bulletin 130

Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 10. Comment on John Witthoft's "Eastern Woodlands Community Typology and Acculturation"

By JOHN M. GOGGIN

COMMENT ON JOHN WITTHOFT'S "EASTERN WOODLANDS COMMUNITY TYPOLOGY AND ACCULTURATION"

By John M. Goggin
University of Florida

This paper opens up an interesting topic for consideration which should prove to be very fruitful to future students of North American Indian acculturation and pan-Indianism. However, it may be that Witthoft's thorough knowledge of the North Carolina Cherokee has unfortunately been a trap which has led him to overgeneralize for the Eastern Woodlands as a whole and the Southeast in particular.

Two such points can be discussed, the "Primitive Village Community" and the concept of "Reservation Culture." For the Southeast the Primitive Village Community is presented as a compact community centered around a central plaza or square on or near which were one or more ceremonial or other specialized structures, including the "men's house." These latter are said to be "best represented by the earth lodge or hothouse of the Creeks and Cherokee." In fact, though, the only good evidence for men's houses is from these tribes.

Perhaps the most deceiving thing about central areas in Southeastern villages is a widespread similarity in form with considerable differences in function. Among some people, such as the Acolapissa, Tocobaga, and Powhatan, "temples" were storage houses for cleaned bones or bodies of the dead; while among the Calusa and Natchez, for example, they were repositories of ritual material. The density of population around the central plaza is also highly variable from the Mississippi to the Atlantic.

Another factor to be remembered in discussing the people who make up a household in the Southeast is the significant variation in kin groups in the area. Most people think clan groups are typical, as among the Creeks. However, the numerically important Choctaw and Chickasaw apparently lacked them.

In trying to discuss Witthoft's "Reservation Culture" I am somewhat uncertain where to begin. What is meant by a reservation? Is it the North Carolina Cherokee or their Oklahoma counterparts? I assume it is the former, with which the author is most familiar.

My question is, what sort of data was he dealing with when he considered the North Carolina Cherokee as the basis on which to develop his theory? Are these typical "reservation Indians" or do such people exist? Why are the reservation Indians or remnants of Cherokee, Choctaw, and Seminole remaining east of the Mississippi the major sources of ethnographic data for these tribes rather than their more numerous tribesmen in Oklahoma?

Unfortunately the real gap in this symposium, and an extremely serious one since we are anthropologists, is that no one has presented a picture of Cherokee culture history. Such data would be illuminating and would explain to some degree my above questions.

Starting from a relatively unacculturated aboriginal culture about 1700, the Cherokee quickly adopted much European material culture and gradually social and political ideas as well, developing what Fred Gearing has called a "state." In addition, leaders emerged, who, by early in the 19th century, were emulating the White leaders of the South—the planters, not the traders. They concentrated in areas of plantation ecology, the river valleys, not the mountains.

When White pressure was brought to bear on the Cherokee to remove them westward, these leaders fought against it but finally, when all efforts were fruitless, it was again these leaders who were foremost on the Trail of Tears.

The present North Carolina Cherokee represent, then, remnants who hid out at the time of forced migration, remaining behind. Essentially they appear to have been the "hillbillies"—that is, Cherokee who were the farthest from White areas and probably those least happy with and least acculturated to European culture.

Remarkable similarities and parallels can be seen between these Cherokee and the Choctaw of Mississippi and the Seminole of Florida who also remained behind. Among both of these peoples it was the major leaders who went west with their followers and the lesser who remained.

In the case of the Seminole and Choctaw, with whom I am most familiar, we can see the result in the immediate disintegration of native political systems in the East although they carried on in Oklahoma for a considerable period.

I believe we should see Southeastern Indian cultures, and for that matter all culture, as composed of integrated cultural complexes rather than integrated cultural traits. Under the impact of another culture the cohesion between these complexes is first shattered; later the traits within them are separated. "Reservation culture" should be examined in this light.

In the Southeastern Indian communities social and political stratification existed from a substantial to a very marked degree and in

contact with a new stratified society (European) what existed seems to have been strengthened in many cases. When the cultures of the Southeast were hit by the impact of forced migration this resulted in the whole series of traits involved in the leadership complex moving west as a body with the people who moved, leaving virtually none behind.

The concept of "reservation" culture offers promise of being a useful tool but it must be refined to recognize a variety of "reservation" situations.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 11. Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gadugi

By RAYMOND D. FOGELSON and PAUL KUTSCHE

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CHEROKEE ECONOMIC COOPERATIVES: THE GADUGI [1]

By Raymond D. Fogelson, *University of Pennsylvania*, and
Paul Kutsche, *The Colorado College*

INTRODUCTION

The Gadugi is an economic institution of considerable age that still persists in Big Cove, one of the more culturally conservative communities of the Eastern Cherokee. For present purposes, the Gadugi may be defined as a group of men who join together to form a company, with rules and officers, for continued economic and social reciprocity. Although James Mooney, the first full-fledged field ethnographer among the Cherokee, omits mention of the Gadugi as an important economic institution, other anthropologists (Starr, 1898; Bloom, MS.; Gilbert, 1943; Speck and Schaeffer, 1945; Witthoft, 1947; and Gulick, 1958) have noted the existence of the Gadugi and devoted various amounts of discussion to it.

Gilbert (1943, p. 306) and others have characterized the Gadugi as a surviving remnant of the aboriginal Cherokee town organization. Gilbert utilized material on Cherokee town organization contained in the Payne-Buttrick manuscripts to support this contention. This material was collected in the decades prior to the Removal in 1838 but, for the most part, represents an earlier phase of Cherokee culture as remembered by a few older informants. Speck and Schaeffer learned from the late Will West Long, a noted Cherokee informant, that the office of town chief or "light" chief survived in Big Cove until about 1875 (Speck and Schaeffer, 1945, p. 173). There is also some linguistic evidence for the connection between

[1] This paper was presented in condensed form at the 58th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Mexico City, 1959. The authors do not regard the present version as final. Many questions await further elucidation through additional field observation, and some important bibliographic sources have not yet been consulted (the Payne-Buttrick manuscripts on deposit at the Newberry Library in Chicago, J. Haywood's "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee," and some of the papers of Benjamin Hawkins). We wish to thank the Cross-Cultural Laboratory of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, John Gulick, director, under whose auspices our fieldwork was carried out; and the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, for financial assistance. We should also like to acknowledge the advice and criticism offered us by Mr. John Atkins, Dr. Robbins Burling, Mrs. Josephine Dixon, Dr. William N. Fenton, Dr. A. I. Hallowell, Mr. Charles H. Holzinger, Mr. John G. Sawyer, Miss Marianne L. Stoller, Mr. Robert K. Thomas, Dr. Anthony F. C. Wallace, and Mr. John Witthoft. A special note of acknowledgment must go to our chief informant, Mr. Lloyd Runningwolf Sequoyah of Big Cove.

the Gadugi and the older town organization. Mooney notes in his glossary the term "Gatugi," alternately "sgatugi," which he translates as "town settlement." One specific place name he lists as Gatutiyi (located near Robbinsville, N. C.), and translates as "town building place" or "settlement place" (Mooney, 1900, p. 519). When we checked Mooney's lead with a Cherokee informant in 1959, the evidence was confirmed: Gaduhūi, he said, is a town, like Asheville or Bryson City, the county seat. Skadugi means township; for example, Big Cove.[2]

The purposes of the present paper are fourfold: (1) to document further the origin of the Gadugi in the aboriginal town organization; (2) to trace historically the forces responsible for the dissolution of the older town organization; (3) to present some background to and a description of the present state of the Gadugi in Big Cove; and (4) to append some brief comparative notes and, perhaps, leads for further research.

18TH-CENTURY CHEROKEE TOWNS

The territory occupied by the Cherokee at the beginning of the 18th century may be divided conveniently into four major areas, three of which possessed distinctive, though mutually intelligible dialects (Gilbert, 1943, pp. 178–182). The Lower Cherokee occupied comparatively flat lands on the banks of the Tugaloo and Keeowee Rivers and their branches in what is now northwestern South Carolina. The Middle Settlement or Kituhwa district was situated in the mountainous region of western North Carolina with settlements along the Little Tennessee, Tuckaseegee, and their branches. The Overhill and Valley Settlements shared a similar dialect and were located, respectively, in eastern Tennessee and the extreme western tip of North Carolina. These regions were not as mountainous as the Middle Settlements and were well watered by the Little Tennessee, Hiwassee, French Broad, and Holston Rivers, and their tributaries. These four areas formed the settlement core of the nation, but, in addition, the Cherokee claimed dominion over a much wider area extending into parts of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, and Georgia. These wider extensions were used primarily as hunting lands and

[2] Big Cove is a social and legal political entity, but its settlement pattern is similar to that of an American rural township. There is no real central cluster of dwellings or other buildings.

Another linguistic note suggests that the word for "bread"—gadu—may be related to the word for "town" or "company." Gadu anigi, said one informant, means "to eat bread." According to the same informant Gadugi means not only the cooperative work organization, but also, "Where all the group meets and eats bread together." A better-than-average dinner is an important part of every joint work party. No one would dare seek the aid of the Gadugi without serving them fried chicken and other choice food. Our informant told us, "If a Cherokee asks, 'When are we going to have Gadugi?' he means, 'When are we going to have the bread eating and the working?'"

served as neutral buffer areas separating the Cherokee from other tribes.

Throughout the 18th century there was a great acceleration of population movement among the Cherokee attributable to the advancing white frontier. In the first half of the century, the presence of the colonists was felt indirectly through intertribal strife and boundary rearrangements precipitated by the dislocation of tribes east of the Cherokee. This phase was followed by direct contact with whites eventuating in war and the destruction of numerous Cherokee villages. Increased pressure on the frontier resulted in land cessions by the Indians, further boundary encroachments by the white settlers, and further Indian cessions. Warfare and disease were important demographic factors during the 18th century. Smallpox epidemics in 1734 and 1783 were reported to have killed half of the Cherokee population.[3] Costly wars severely depleted the available number of adult males. Near the end of the 18th century, all the Cherokee settlements in South Carolina were ceded, and the center of population shifted southward, with heavy settlement in northern Georgia and northeastern Alabama.

The physical and spiritual center of 18th-century Cherokee life was the town. In reviewing the older sources, we have attempted to get estimates of the number of towns and their approximate populations. While there is much discrepancy in these early population estimates, some broad limits as to town size can be obtained. The Cherokee were the most numerous tribe in the Southeast, and Kroeber (1939, p. 141) gives an aboriginal population estimate of 22,000. In 1709, Governor Johnson of the Carolina Colony reported that the "Chereky Indians" had 5,000 (fighting) men settled in 60 towns (Williams, 1937, p. 67, footnote). A population estimate in 1715 has a total of 60 towns distributed as follows (Crane, 1928, p. 131, footnote):

Towns:	*Number*	*Population*	*Arithmetic mean*
Upper (Overhill)	19	2, 760	145
Middle (Middle and Valley)	30	6, 350	212
Lower	11	2, 100	191
	60	11, 210	187

These figures seem rather low, since disease and warfare had not yet greatly affected population size. Also, the criteria used for determining what constituted a town seem to be in doubt, since 6 years later

[3] Since the Cherokee were in the habit of burning houses where smallpox had struck, it is likely that many whole villages were also deserted as a result of the disease. Other factors that swelled the mortality rate from smallpox were the traditional treatment of "going to water" (sweat baths followed by plunges into a nearby stream) and an outbreak of suicide that occurred when victims beheld their disease-scarred faces. (For further detail see the eye-witness account of Adair, 1775, pp. 244–246.)

(1721), an estimate of the Overhill population revealed only 11 towns, while the population was held relatively constant at 2,725. In the latter estimate, the population per town ranged from 95 to 543 and yields a mean of 248 people (Williams, 1937, pp. 85–86).

Another census in 1721 reports a total population of 10,376 distributed in 53 towns which would average out to 196 per town (Mooney, 1900, p. 34). Swanton (1946, p. 114) cites a 1729 estimate of 64 towns and a total population of 20,000 for an average of 313. In 1735 just prior to the first smallpox epidemic, Adair says, "they had 64 towns and villages and full of women and children," and later, "they amounted to upward of six thousand fighting men" (Adair, 1775, p. 238). On this basis Mooney (1900, p. 34) believes that the total population was between 16,000 and 17,000; this would result in an average town population of 258.

For the next 40 years Cherokee census data are poor. While references to fighting strength in terms of the number of warriors appear frequently, fighting strength is no longer a reliable index to total population because of an imbalance in the normal age-sex ratio. In the early 1770's Bartram compiled a list of 43 Cherokee towns, but gave no overall population estimates (Bartram, 1791, p. 401). A distribution of annuities in 1799 included reference to 51 towns (Royce, 1887, p. 144, footnote). In 1808–9, a town-by-town census gave a population of 12,395, but many Cherokee had by this time emigrated west to the Indian Territory (Swanton, 1946, p. 114).

From these figures, it seems safe to say that the typical (18th-century) Cherokee town numbered between 200 and 325 persons. We realize that arithmetic means may not give a true index of central tendency, and that many of the important and sacred mother towns were much larger with perhaps 600 people as an upper limit; the smallest town reported had a population of 95.

The settlement pattern was frequently determined by the contour of the land. In many cases, houses were located at the base of hills to take maximum advantage of tillable land and also to be near sources of fresh water. Where arable land was abundant, houses were sometimes clustered in the center of fields. The typical house was square or rectangular in shape.[4] It was constructed of a framework of upright poles, sunk in the ground, and covered by a bark, wood, or woven siding made weathertight by earth and clay. Each household usually included a small semisubterranean "âsi" or sweathouse for ritual purification, winter sleeping, and food storage. By 1775, typical frontier-type log cabins, made possible by the intro-

[4] The Cherokee had summer dwellings which were reminiscent of the Iroquois longhouse in overall dimensions—"rarely exceeds sixteen feet in breadth, . . . but often extends to sixty or seventy feet in length . . ." (Timberlake, 1765, p. 87)—but, as Swanton notes, this was probably a single-family dwelling unit and, unlike the Iroquois longhouse, constructed of wattle and plaster (Swanton, 1946, p. 404).

duction of European woodworking tools, had replaced the earlier type of dwelling (Malone, 1956, p. 12).

The heart of the 18th-century Cherokee town was the centrally located council house. The earliest council houses were large earth lodges, circular or heptagonal in shape. They sometimes could accommodate as many as 500 people and were usually situated on a slight manmade elevation or mound, often containing the remains of previous populations. Other features frequently associated in the council house complex were outdoor pavilions serving as a summer men's house, houses for important town officials and priests, and a cleared level field for ball play (Witthoft, this volume, p. 70). Later council houses were constructed of logs and built above the ground.

The Cherokee had seven exogamous sibs with sib segments of each represented in varying proportions in each town.[5] Descent was reckoned matrilineally, and the kinship type conformed to a basic Crow system. Residence tended to be matrilocal, but residence rules were not rigid. Polygyny was the preferred form of marriage but had a low incidence. Sib membership was recognized in the seating arrangement in the council house and in the composition of certain bodies of the tribal government. There is some hint that certain sibs had special functions and prerogatives, but the evidence is not clear. The sib was a major mechanism in social control through the exaction of blood revenge (Gilbert, 1943, pp. 216–253).

The political structure of the 18th-century Cherokee town was fairly elaborate and warrants some description. Two complementary political hierarchies, the Red and the White organizations, executed political control during times of war and peace, respectively. The White organization can be best considered a form of gerontocracy. It was headed by a White Chief (Uku), whom early travelers and Colonial administrators often erroneously equated with the European notion of king. This position was said to have been nonhereditary, but certain lineages appeared to have produced more chiefs than might be expected on the basis of chance alone (Gilbert, 1957, pp. 552–553). The White Chief had the power to call and preside over council meetings and served as an overseer in important communal activities, including agriculture. Under the Uku were a deputy chief, and a chief speaker selected for his oratorical abilities. Two councils wielded considerable influence in political decision making and policy formation: a body of counselors representing the seven sibs and a council of elders that included all men over 55 years of age (or whose

[5] Ethnographic literature to date has consistently employed the term "clan" to denote the Cherokee unit of descent. There is no evidence, however, that the aboriginal in-marrying male was considered to have joined his wife's kin group, and he certainly does not do so at present. Therefore, following Murdock's usage, we apply the term "sib" to the Cherokee descent group (Murdock, 1949, chs. 3, 4, p. 247).

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hair had turned gray). In addition, the White organization included important religious officials, several messengers, and various minor governmental and religious assistants (Gilbert, 1943, pp. 319–325).

The rule of the White organization can be characterized as benevolent paternalism. Decisions were generally unanimous, and direct coercion or overactive leadership were strongly devalued (Gearing, MS., 1956). The officials tended to gain their authority through love and respect. The power of the old men can be vividly seen in an anecdote reported by Bartram about a Creek chief from Mucclesse:

> One morning after his attendants had led him to the council fire, before seating himself, he addressed himself to the people after this manner—
> "You yet love me; what can I do now to merit your regard? nothing; I am good for nothing; I cannot see to shoot the buck or hunt up the sturdy bear; I know I am but a burthen to you; I have lived long enough; now let my spirit go; I want to see the warriors of my youth in the country of spirits: (bareing his breast) here is the hatchet, take it and strike." They answered with one united voice, "We will not; we cannot; we want you here." [Bartram, 1791, p. 392.]

The Red or War organization assumed leadership of the town in times of military emergency. It also administered offensive war outside the town and served as a liaison in relations between the town and foreign powers.[6] This organization was headed by the "Raven" or great Red War Chief. This was an elected office that was earned by notable exploits as a warrior. The "Raven" was considerably younger than the White Chief, and he took an active part in war parties, traditionally being the first to engage in combat with the enemy and never retreating except when his men carried him away from the fray by force. Thus, in addition to being chief strategist and decision maker in war, he was also an inspirational leader and rallying point in the heat of battle. There is also some evidence that he took a paternalistic attitude toward the safety of his men and was morally charged with the responsibility of not exposing them to unnecessary danger. Like the White Chief, the Raven had an assistant or deputy chief. There were also seven counselors of war representing the seven sibs.

Exceptional women also had a role in the War organization. These women, variously called "Pretty Women," "War Women," or "Beloved Women," usually attained their rank by past heroic actions. They had a voice in council and decided the fate of prisoners. Other war officials included a speaker, a standard bearer, a surgeon with

[6] It is our impression from reviewing early sources that the war chiefs were also the major trade contacts. Names of war chiefs frequently turn up leading trading expeditions to Charlestown, and they often entered into ceremonial "brotherships" with white traders (see Rothrock, 1929). During times of peace the war chief was probably seen as a dangerous man to have permanently residing in the village, so the society seems to have developed a pattern of keeping him away from the village as much as possible when the threat of war was absent.

three assistants, and war priests whose influence was such that they could recall war parties from the field when omens were unfavorable. Also within the warrior class, there was a system of grading. Three special scouts, the "Wolf," "Owl," and "Fox," scouted to the right, left, and rear, respectively. Warriors who had killed an enemy were given a special title. Boys under 25 were not admitted to warrior status.[7]

The articulation between the Red and the White organizations was marked by ritual. Before leaving for the field, warriors fasted, observed sex taboos, and participated in an all-night dance to get them into a "war-like disposition." On their return to the village, they had to undergo many days of ceremonial purification before they were able to resume peaceful civil life (Gearing, MS., 1956, p. 70).[8]

This dual organization would not, technically, be classified as a political moiety system by Murdock (1956). While the local town Red-White dichotomy was replicated on a national level, unlike the Creeks, the Cherokee did not divide the towns of their nation into Red and White towns.[9]

The seasonal cycle gave a clear-cut rhythm to the 18th-century Cherokee village structure. Small hunting parties went out from late October to early spring, and shorter hunts took place during the summer months (Gearing, 1958, p. 1150). War parties generally left the village during the late fall and winter. The yearly calendar was regularly punctuated by religious ceremonies, the most important of which were the second Green Corn Feast in mid-September and the New Fire or New Year ceremonies which took place near the end of October. The major religious ceremonies can be viewed as rites of intensification in which old grudges were forgiven, debts canceled, offenders pardoned, and unity of the town revitalized (Bartram, 1791, p. 399).

The Cherokee subsistence pattern was one of mixed hunting, fishing, gathering, and agriculture. Larger game included the buffalo, deer, bear, beaver, opossum, wild turkey, and "pheasant" (ruffed grouse. See Bent, 1932, p. 310). These were hunted with the bow and later with guns, first introduced about 1700. Deer pelts became an increasingly valuable item in trade with the English Colonies. With the development of a regulated fur trade,

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[7] Most of this material dealing with the dual political system of the Cherokee has been drawn from Gearing (MS., 1956; 1958) whom the interested reader should consult for further detail.

[8] It is interesting to note that one of the Cherokee names for the ball game is translated as "little war," and many elements of war ritual can still be seen in ball game ceremonialism. The senior author hopes to make the ball game the subject of a later paper.

[9] Some Cherokee towns were labeled White towns and considered towns of refuge, a fact seized upon by early writers attempting to make the Hebrew equation. However, we have encountered no evidence for the existence of contrasting Red towns. Thus there is no precise parallel to the elaborate Creek political moieties described by Swanton (1928 a) and Haas (1940).

about 1720, the Indian hunter became more and more dependent on European manufactures. In the second half of the 18th century, the fur trade diminished in intensity owing to reduced game resources and the loss of hunting territories. Large-game hunting was an exclusive male activity. Hunting parties consisted of only a few individuals who allied themselves more for companionship and protection than for any necessary coordination in seeking out and killing their prey.

Smaller game, such as rabbits, squirrels, small rodents, and birds, were hunted with the blowgun or caught in various traps and snares. Hunting with the blowgun tended, in the late 18th century, to be a sport and children's amusement (Timberlake, 1765, pp. 44–45). It is probable that women assisted in animal drives that were associated with the annual burning of the brush in the local village.

Fish were an important part of the Cherokee diet. Fish were caught in weirs, by hook and line, by drives into shallow areas, by spears, and by fish poisons. Timberlake (1765, p. 69) says that nets were not aboriginal, but Swanton (1946, p. 336) feels that this is "incredible."

Animal domestication seems to have been limited to dogs in aboriginal times. The horse was introduced about 1740 and rapidly became widespread. In times of dire need, horses were killed for food. The pig was received enthusiastically and flourished on a diet of mountain greens and chestnuts. For a long time, the Cherokee rejected cattle, probably because of the large expenditure of effort in maintaining them (Timberlake, 1765, p. 72). Nevertheless, some of the more acculturated Cherokee began to engage in limited stock-raising near the end of the century.

Gathering was an important part of the native economy. Responsibility for gathering was invested mainly in the women, with some assistance from children. Important gathered foodstuffs included wild fruits, berries, and nuts.

The central pillar of Cherokee domestic economy was agriculture. Land was cleared by slash-and-burn techniques—girdling the bark and subsequent burning—an early description of which is given by Adair (1775, p. 435). The fertility of the Overhill Cherokee land was noted in glowing terms by the military architect, De Brahm, who in 1756 called the area, "the American Canaan," with soil "equal to manure itself, impossible in appearance ever to wear out . . ." (Williams, 1928, p. 193).

Adair alludes to a dual system of private household gardens and larger community fields. The private gardens were located close to the dwelling houses and were fenced to keep off the horses. On these small plots were grown various beans, peas, and "the smaller sort of

Indian corn which usually ripens in two months" (Adair, 1930, pp. 435–436). These private household gardens were in contrast to the larger "out fields," which were not fenced and were worked communally. In Adair's words:

> The chief part of the Indians begin to plant their out-fields, when the wild fruit is so ripe, as to draw off the birds from picking up the grain. This is their general rule, which is in the beginning of May, about the time the traders set off for the English settlements. Among several nations of Indians, each town usually works together. Previous thereto, an old beloved man warns the inhabitants to be ready to plant on a prefixed day. At the dawn of it, one by order goes aloft, and whoops to them with shrill calls, "that the new year is far advanced,—that he who expects to eat must work,—and that he who will not work, must expect to pay the fine according to old custom, or leave the town, as they will not sweat themselves for an healthy idle waster." At such times, may be seen many war-chieftains working in common with the people. . . . About an hour after sun-rise, they enter the field agreed on by lot, and fall to work with great cheerfulness; sometimes one of their orators cheers them with jests and humorous old tales, and sings several of their most agreeable wild tunes, beating also with a stick in his right hand, on the top of an earthern pot covered with a wet and well-stretched deerskin: thus they proceed from field to field, till their seed is sown. [Adair, 1775, pp. 436–437.]

As to the details of planting, Adair reports,

> They plant their corn in straight rows, putting five or six grains into one hole, about two inches distant—They cover them with clay in the form of a small hill. Each row is a yard asunder, and in the vacant ground they plant pumpkins, water-melons, marsh-mallows, sun-flowers, and sundry sorts of beans and peas, the last two of which yield a large increase. [Ibid., p. 439.]

The women seem to have had some special agricultural duties, for Adair also says that, "The women plant also pompions, and different sorts of melons, in separate fields, at a considerable distance from the town" (ibid., p. 438).

Bartram, who visited the Southern Indians in the 1770's, maintains that the reputed communism of the Indians has been "too vague and general." His description of Indian agriculture stresses communal work activity as superimposed over a system of individual ownership or land rights. Bartram's detailed observations follow:

> An Indian town is generally so situated, as to be convenient for procuring game, secure from sudden invasion, having a large district of excellent arable land adjoining, or in its vicinity, if possible on an isthmus betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninsula. Such a situation generally comprises a sufficient body of excellent land for planting Corn, Potatoes, Beans, Squash, Pumpkins, Citruls, Melons, &c., and is taken in with a small expence and trouble of fencing, to secure the crops from the invasion of predatory animals. At other times however they choose such a convenient fertile spot at some distance from their town, when circumstances will not admit of having both together.
>
> This is their common plantation, and the whole town plant in one vast field together; but yet the part or share of every individual family or habitation, is

separated from the next adjoining, by a narrow strip, or verge of grass, or any other natural or artificial boundary.

In the spring, the ground being already prepared on one and the same day, early in the morning, the whole town is summoned, by the sound of a conch shell, from the mouth of the overseer, to meet at the public square, whither the people repair with their hoes and axes; and from thence proceed to their plantation, where they begin to plant, not every one in his own little district, assigned and laid out, but the whole community united begins on one certain part of the field, where they plant on until finished; and when their rising crops are ready for dressing and cleansing they proceed after the same order, and so on day after day, until the crop is laid by for ripening. After the feast of the busk is over, and all the grain is ripe, the whole town again assemble, and every man carries off the fruits of his labour, from the part first allotted to him, which he deposits in his own granary; which is individually his own. But previous to their carrying off their crops from the field, there is a large crib or granary, erected in the plantation, which is called the king's crib; and to this each family carries and deposits a certain quantity, according to his ability or inclination, or none at all if he so chooses: this in appearance seems a tribute or revenue to the mico; but in fact is designed for another purpose, i.e. that of a public treasury, supplied by a few and voluntary contributions, and to which every citizen has the right of free and equal access, when his own private stores are consumed; to serve as a surplus to fly to for succour; to assist neighbouring towns, whose crops may have failed; accommodate strangers, or travellers; afford provisions or supplies, when they go forth on hostile expeditions; and for all other exigencies of the state: and this treasure is at the disposal of the king or mico; which is surely a royal attribute, to have an exclusive right and ability in a community to distribute comfort and blessings to the necessitous. [Bartram, 1791, pp. 400–401.]

Bartram's and Adair's observations were given corroboration by Brother Martin Schneider, a Moravian missionary who journeyed into the Cherokee area in 1783–84. He writes:

In the Midst of every Town is, as it were, a round Tower of Earth about 20 Feet high almost like a Heap where Coals are burnt, on which is a little House, but which have been mostly burnt down in the last War. Here the first Chief climbs up every Morning at the Time of the Work in the Field, & calls the People with a loud voice together; these must come with their Indian-Corn Hoes, & go together in proper Order to Work. And tho' every Family has its own Field, yet they begin fellowshiply on one End, & continue so one after the other till they have finished all. As every one must come & hoe (he may have planted or not) it seems they prevent thereby that not easily a Family can come to Want by Carelessness. They dare not go from their Work till in the Evening, but the Women must bring them their Victuals into the Field. [Williams, 1928, p. 261.]

This same communal organization of men which tilled the fields, also rapidly erected both private and public buildings in the town, and the men of one town or neighborhood frequently helped those of the next (Adair, 1775, p. 444).

From the above-cited eyewitness accounts of 18th-century Cherokee agriculture, we may conclude that men played a more active role than has generally been assumed. It is fairly certain that men engaged in the heavier labor of clearing the land, planting, and reaping

the harvest. In times of war, this arrangement was probably upset, but it is interesting to note that whenever they had any choice, as when Colonial authorities sought their aid in fighting French Indians, the Cherokee usually delayed going on the warpath until the late fall. Summer hunting parties seem to have departed after the corn was in the ground and returned before harvest time. Thus it appears that sufficient male labor was available during the most arduous phases of agriculture. We can assume that weeding and other lighter maintenance tasks in the communal fields were performed by women, older children, older men, and a few of the younger men who had chosen to stay home.[10]

In this organization of agricultural activity, we can also see elements that persist today in the Gadugi. These elements include overseers, warners and advance notification of work days, women as cooks, a communal treasury, aid to the poor, aged, and misfortunate, and the working of each other's fields in concert.

Looked at from a broader context, the 18th-century Cherokee town can be seen as a predominantly autonomous self-sufficient unit with a highly developed sense of identity. This sense of identity can be inferred from an account by Col. George Chicken who visited the Cherokee country in 1725. He describes the town of Tellico as—

> . . . very Compact and thick Settled . . . . Here are two town Housses in this Town by reason they are the people of Two towns settled together . . . both Enforted and their houses which they live in all Muskett proof. [Williams, 1928, pp. 98–99.]

This separate identity continued to be recognized, for in 1741, Antoine Bonnefoy, a French captive, reports being taken to an Overhill settlement called "Chateauké and Talekoa [Tellico], which are two different councils, though the cabins are mingled together indistinguishably" (ibid., 1928, pp. 152–153). Town identity was fostered by intertown rivalry, as in the ball game, a symbolic substitute for war. The separateness of the town is also underscored by the fact that, as Bartram noted, each town celebrated the busk or second Green Corn Ceremony individually, when its own harvest was ready (Bartram, 1791, p. 399).

Although the officers of the local Red and White organizations were reduplicated on a national level, the power of the Great White Chief and chief warrior of the nation was nominal throughout all but the last phases of the 18th century. This lack of adequate centralized

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[10] We have tried to establish a case for male participation in agriculture for the Cherokee. However, our present sources are not sufficient to determine whether the male assisted his mother and the sibmates of his matrilineal kin group in agricultural pursuits, or whether he worked in the context of his family of procreation with his wife's group. Witthoft (personal communication), on the basis of sources not yet consulted by the authors, feels that males participated in farming as members of their mothers' households.

authority was a continued source of vexation to early Colonial administrations who desired to treat with the Cherokee but were frustrated in securing agreements that would be binding to the whole nation. In the latter portion of the century, the Cherokee achieved increased political unification in response to the advancing white frontier. A national spirit began to emerge that gradually stripped the local town of much of its previous autonomy and independence.

THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION, 1790–1838

The rhythm of Cherokee economic life was shattered after the American Revolution, which unleashed a flood of emigration toward the Cherokee borders. Cherokee strength was so sapped by constant bloodshed and the razing of their villages, that the main body of the nation sued for peace in 1782. A group of dissident Cherokee warriors, led by Dragging Canoe, refused to bury the red-stained tomahawk and removed themselves to the Chicamauga district, near presentday Chattanooga, where they were decisively defeated in 1792. This separate settlement of the Red organization can be viewed as the death blow of the older tribal political structure.

After the war, the Cherokee embarked on a path of conscious acculturation. Agriculture was given added importance in the new scheme of things, since the former patterns of warfare and hunting were now effectively blocked through careful maintenance of peace, the ceding of hunting territories, and the thinning out of game. President Washington obligingly wrote into the Treaty of 1791 stipulations for agricultural implements and instruction. It was hoped that if the Cherokee became a nation of farmers, they would require less land and be more amenable to further land cessions to appease the growing demands of Georgia and other States. A minority of Cherokee did not want to give up the hunting life, and the Federal Government encouraged them to emigrate to the West, where they might continue to follow the older way of life with no interference. Small bands began to set out for the West about 1785, and in 1835, the "Cherokee West" numbered several thousand.

By about 1815, there were privately owned Cherokee farmsteads in north Georgia and other fertile bottom lands in the nation which rivaled any white American plantations of the area in appointments and number of Negro slaves. Commercial cropping began to replace the subsistence agriculture-plus-hunting-and-gathering of the earlier decades. Contemporary reports citing figures on livestock and produce attest to the sudden new prosperity. The owners of these plantations were wealthy mixbloods, the progeny of previous traders and coureurs de bois. This new landed gentry, many of whom were

educated in American schools, began to assume the role of a nascent aristocracy and rapidly gained ascendancy in Cherokee political affairs. Aboriginal patterns of kinship and religion were breaking down under the onslaught of missionaries who were successful in converting the nation to Christianity and bringing schools to the Cherokee.

However, most of these developments were taking place in the southern portion of the nation where rich bottom land abounded and communication with white population centers and markets was easy. The less richly endowed and less accessible Middle Settlements contained a greater percentage of fullbloods who tended to remain culturally conservative and marginal to the efflorescence occurring farther south. These people could not afford large numbers of slaves, and their mountain ecology would not permit a plantation system. Small-scale subsistence farming and hunting, where possible, continued to prevail.

Change in Cherokee political structure took place rapidly. A traditional type of White Chief together with a body of representative elders ruled the nation until 1820; soon thereafter, the mixbloods rose to political power and the nation was remodeled into a republic along the lines of the United States Government. A constitution ratified in 1827 provided for an elected chief and vice chief to serve as law-enforcement officers. The nation was divided into eight election districts. With these sweeping changes, the days of local town autonomy were officially over. Only as a unified national state could the Cherokee engage in their gallant, but futile, struggle to retain ancestral rights to their lands in the face of ever-increasing pressure for their removal by the young, bicep-flexing United States, bent on fulfilling its "manifest destiny."

Despite the modifications in the formal Cherokee political structure, some echo of the older form of town organization seemed to persist in some areas. As Malone notes,

> Although the villages were shown as individual spots on various maps, many were actually areas of some distance in length, containing scattered houses and farms. One of the most lasting institutions of Cherokee local government was the office of Town Chief, whose authority extended well into the period of the republic. Judging by appearance in Cherokee geography of such names as Going Snake's Town, Thomas Foreman's Town, and Vann's Old Town, the Town Chief must indeed have controlled not merely a cluster of houses, but an area more nearly like a township or a city-state. [Malone, 1956, p. 119.]

We lack documentary evidence pertaining to the degree that communal agriculture was practiced, but it seems reasonable to assume that the older agricultural forms persisted in the less acculturated regions.

The period of American-style agricultural prosperity, a golden few years which is unique among American Indians, exploded in catastrophe in 1835 when the fraudulent Treaty of New Echota was ratified by Congress, and 3 years later the Cherokee were forcibly removed to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. One sidelight of the Removal suggests the endurance of the older town organization. The United States troops experienced initial difficulty in organizing groups for Removal. After the first emigrants had departed, Chief John Ross succeeded in winning a temporary postponement to avoid traveling in the sickly summer season. It was agreed that the remaining Cherokee would remove themselves in their own fashion. The subsequent emigration seems to have been organized along town lines, led by the local chief (personal conversation with Robert K. Thomas).[11]

THE GADUGI IN EASTERN CHEROKEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 1838–1959

Several hundred Cherokee escaped Removal by hiding in the wilderness of the Great Smoky Mountains. Realizing the impossibility of tracking down these people, Gen. Winfield Scott, charged with the responsibility of carrying out the terms of the Removal, struck a face-saving compromise. If the Indians would surrender Tsali and his brothers, who were involved in the killing of some soldiers, Scott agreed to let the others remain. This was done and Tsali and his brothers were duly executed.[12]

The survivors of the Removal still faced the problem of being landless aliens in their own country. This problem was soon solved by Will Thomas, an enterprising white trader and lifelong friend of the Cherokee. With money donated by the estranged Indians supplemented by his own personal funds, Thomas purchased most of the tract that presently constitutes the Qualla Reservation. This land is located in Swain and Jackson Counties, one of the most rugged portions of western North Carolina. Although well watered by the Oconaluftee, a rapid mountain stream, and its various branches, good bottom land is not plentiful. At the time of purchase, the area was rich in natural timber resources and wild game. Where bottom land is not available, hillside slopes are cultivated, and 45-degree cornfields are not uncommon. During the 19th century, the reserva-

[11] It would be a worthwhile investigation to follow the fate of the local town organization in Oklahoma. A promising lead might be an examination of the reflections of the older town organization in the structure of the Kee-too-wah societies, but this is beyond the writers' present knowledge and the scope of this paper. For the persistence of the Creek town organization in Oklahoma, see Opler, 1952.

[12] Accounts of Tsali's martyrdom vary in details (see Mooney, 1900, pp. 131 and 157–158; Lanman, 1849, pp. 112–114; and Arthur, 1914).

tion was fairly well isolated from the rest of the world. Some idea of the relative isolation can be inferred from the fact that in 1875, a government official required 2 days to reach the reservation from Asheville, N.C., a distance of 50 miles that can now be traveled in slightly over an hour by automobile (Bloom, MS., p. 70).

Thomas assumed a paternal role toward the Eastern Cherokee, serving as agent, adviser, and effective political leader until his health failed after the Civil War. Shortly after the Removal, the population of the Eastern Cherokee was about 1,000, a figure swelled somewhat by persons who escaped en route to Oklahoma and found their way back. Although this population was not entirely homogeneous, the vast majority were Middle Cherokee, who had long been residents of the area.

The land was divided somewhat arbitrarily into five contiguous townships that still remain today; these are called Birdtown, Yellow Hill, Painttown, Wolftown, and Big Cove. The manner in which people were assigned to these districts is not known, but it is probable that kinship, sib membership, and former local affiliation were important determinants. For our purposes, it is important to note that the new settlement arrangement was artificial in comparison with the natural unity of older town structure. On the one hand, the reservation as a whole tried to function as a single town but failed for reasons which we will go into shortly. On the other hand, the five townships, while achieving some individual integration, lacked sufficient size and diversity of membership to attain the status of towns as defined in the older sense. Nevertheless, there was a conscious attempt to graft the traditional Cherokee social organization onto the new circumstances.

Under the leadership of Yonaguska (Drowning Bear), a former peace chief, an old-style council house was erected in Wolftown to serve the needs of the whole band for a central meeting place (Mooney, 1900, pp. 161, 163). This edifice was described by Lanman in 1849 as, ". . . built of hewn logs, very large and circular, without any floor but that of solid earth, and without any seats but one short bench intended for the great men of the nation" (Lanman, 1849, p. 101). We learn from the same author that a sacred fire burned continually in the center of the building and that a large ball field was located just outside (ibid., p. 104). Soon after Lanman's visit the building fell into disrepair and tumbled down. Gulick lists three factors responsible for the failure of the old-style council town to endure: (1) prior widespread adoption of white-type farmstead; (2) Christian influences in undermining the old ceremonial center's symbolic power; (3) the composite local origin of the people which made them resistant to becoming members of a single, highly integrated community

(Gulick, 1958, p. 248). In addition, the location was not really central nor was it equally accessible to all parts of the reservation.

During the same period, the organization of the local settlements also showed considerable nativistic retention. Speck and Schaeffer obtained valuable information about the former structure of the local community from Will West Long. Each village settlement community had a "lead chief" or "light chief" (noted also in Lanman, 1849, p. 94). Speck and Schaeffer write:

> Each settlement handled its own public, legislative, and social affairs as a small independent unit. The community chief or "lead chief" was the social factor in organizing the group's activities and formulating policies. He administered control through a body of 12 men, known as ani tawis kagu (smooth men)[13] whom he appointed. They served as police or sheriffs, having official authority to arrest and punish, according to tribal mores, men and women guilty of misdemeanor. They reserved the right to decide the degree of punishment for minor offense by whipping with sticks (4 to 12 lashes), or they could even pronounce acquittal. The mutual aid cooperative was a branch of this arm of community organization; its affairs were appointed by the company itself, and authorized by the community lead chief.

The last "lead chief" of Big Cove was a man by the name of Chiltoski ("Falling Corn-Tassel"), and the office fell into disuse after 1875 (Speck and Schaeffer, 1945, p. 175).[14]

Lanman gives a picture of relative cultural stability and prosperity for the Qualla Cherokee during his 1848 visit:

> About three-fourths of the entire population can read in their own language, and though the majority of them understand English, a very few can speak the language. They practice, to a considerable extent, the science of agriculture, and have acquired such a knowledge of the mechanic arts as answers them for all ordinary purposes, for they manufacture their own clothing, their own ploughs, and other farming utensils, their own axes, and even their own guns . . . . They keep the same domestic animals that are kept by their white neighbors and cultivate all the common grains of the country. They are probably as temperate as any other class of people on the face of the earth . . . . They are chiefly Methodists and Baptists, and have regularly ordained ministers, who preach to them on every Sabbath, and they have also abandoned many of their more senseless superstitions . . . . Except on festive days, they dress after the manner of the white man, but far more picturesquely. They live in small log houses of their own construction, and have everything they need or desire in the way of food. They are, in fact, the happiest community that I have yet met within this Southern country . . . . [Lanman, 1849, pp. 94–95.]

Lanman (1849, pp. 93, 100, 104) also mentions that ball games and dancing were popular activities and that about 100 Catawba were living on the reservation.[15]

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[13] One of our informants feels this term is better translated as "honest men."

[14] A man by the name of Chiltoski was reported to have still been living in a commodious house on a prosperous farmstead in Big Cove as late as 1892 (Donaldson, 1892, p. 12).

[15] Relations with these surviving Catawba soon became strained, and they left to resettle in their former homes in South Carolina before the Civil War. During their stay, there was some intermarriage, and the Catawba served to reintroduce pottery, a lost art among the Eastern Cherokee.

Very little information is available for the Eastern Cherokee from 1848 until the outbreak of the Civil War. When the war erupted, Thomas was made a colonel in the Confederate Army, and 400 Cherokee were recruited to serve in his Legion. The Cherokee were assigned the task of acting as a home guard and engaged in only a few minor skirmishes with Federal troops. Nevertheless, the war had some disastrous aftermaths for the Cherokee. Some of the soldiers who had joined the Union forces contracted smallpox, and on their return, an epidemic burst loose on the reservation killing about 100 persons, a sizable percentage of the population. In addition, Colonel Thomas went bankrupt and suffered a mental collapse from which he never recovered. Now, not only was leadership uncertain, but Thomas' bankruptcy threatened confiscation of the tribal lands, the deeds to which were in Thomas' name. This legal problem was not settled until 1876, when the Federal Government assumed trusteeship of the reservation.

It is not entirely clear how the Cherokee governed themselves during the slender times following the Civil War, since few travelers visited them to leave records. We are inclined to assume that they reverted to a town organization under individual "lead chiefs," with each of the five townships attaining some degree of autonomy from the others. Such an arrangement at least makes the best logical sense, in view of their previous history and in view of the economic arrangements found by later observers.

In 1870, the Eastern Cherokee revamped their government along white lines. Elections were held and a chief, vice chief, and a tribal council consisting of two representatives from each township were put into office. Five years later a written constitution was adopted (Mooney, 1900, p. 173). The near synchronism of the new tribal government and the passing of the traditional office of "lead chief" was probably not coincidental. Leadership of the community seems to have passed into the hands of the council representatives whose glance was now directed outward to the reservation as a whole, rather than focusing exclusively inward to the internal affairs of the local community.

The fortunes of the Eastern Cherokee seemed to vacillate during the three decades prior to 1900. One reason for this was a population decrease occasioned by the partially successful efforts of the Western Cherokee to reunify the Nation by luring Eastern Cherokee to Oklahoma. Also, the scars left by the Civil War were a long time healing. Reports in 1875 and 1880 describe the Eastern Band as "destitute and discouraged, almost without stock or farming tools" (Mooney, 1900, p. 174), and "in a most deplorable condition," landless, "scarcely able to live," and without schools (Wardell, 1938, p. 245). Quakers

remedied the lack of education by establishing the first school in 1881. The next year, travelers Zeigler and Grosscup, who stopped a few days in the Qualla Reservation, reported that the chief lived like a comfortable Victorian gentleman. But "The fields, originally of average fertility, are worn out by bad farming. There is an abundance of fruit—apples, peaches, and plums. The predominant crop is corn, which is reduced to meal by the simple little mills common to the mountain country" (Zeigler and Grosscup, 1883, p. 36). The sale of ponies and cattle provided the small amount of cash needed for taxes and purchases.

There are descriptions of the Gadugi in essentially its present form from the early 1890's. Frederick Starr, the early physical anthropologist of the University of Chicago, visited the reservation about this time, and afterward in a grammar school text about Indians, says this of the Eastern Cherokee:

> Their fields are fenced and well cultivated. They work them in companies of ten to twelve persons: such companies are formed to work the fields of each member in order. [Starr, 1898, p. 144.]

In 1892, Carrington, while collecting statistics for the Interior Department, observed a similar company at work in Wolftown, and notes:

> . . . upon the hillsides, so steep that it seemed as if wings or ladders would be needed for tillage, several patches of from 5 to 10 acres were green with well-developed wheat, and on one of the slopes a "working bee" of 30 men, women and children were uniting their forces to help a neighbor put in his corn. In places where even a single steer could not hold footing with the lightest plow, a long line of willing workers hoed successive parallel seed trenches. [Donaldson, 1892, p. 12.]

Near the turn of the century, the Gadugis began to hire out their services to white farmers in the vicinity. Whereas formerly the Gadugi seems to have been based on a simple exchange of services between neighbors, the addition of money brought about certain changes in its organization. When the Gadugi was hired out, the funds received were placed in a common treasury which was annually divided up among the members. Members had the privilege of borrowing money from the treasury provided that they put up sufficient collateral in the form of a mortgage on items of personal property, as stock, house, etc. (Gilbert, 1943, p. 212). Although the Gadugi felt it had the right to claim mortgaged property for failure to repay loans, we have yet to hear of any instance where such action was ever taken. Rather, it seems that until recently the threat of physical coercion or ostracism from the group was sufficient to bring recalcitrant members back into line.

Seen from historical perspective, the introduction of money and the notion of a communal treasury did not constitute an entirely new

dimension to the agricultural organization. The town organization of the 18th century included a communal granary, where grain was stored for assistance to needy people, special events, and the support of town officials. In one sense then, money can be seen as a functional substitute for grain. However, the analogy is far from neat, for as Gilbert mentions, the hiring out of the Gadugi—

> . . . led to a dependence on white people for wages and subsistence instead of a reliance on their own unaided cultivation of the soil by mutual aid. Consequently the gadugi came under the North Carolina regulations as to corporations and became subject to taxation. Unable to meet the taxes from their earnings, the gadugi soon declined and mostly disappeared in the opening years of the twentieth century. To this decline the Cherokee attribute the reason for the disappearance of the once prosperous farms that used to dot the hillsides of their country. [Gilbert, 1943, p. 362.]

These legal actions may have been the death blow to the Gadugi in many townships, but the organization still managed to survive in Big Cove.

Another significant development seems to have taken place probably about the turn of the century. The Gadugi and the poor-aid society apparently split into separate organizations. Whereas formerly these two groups were fused together as two arms of the local town organization (Speck and Schaeffer, 1945, p. 175), they now became differentiated and possessed separate rosters of officers. These two organizations differed in that the Gadugi was a smaller, more tightly knit cooperative with regularly scheduled activities usually focusing on agriculture, while the poor-aid society tended to be a looser, more communitywide organization which was mobilized only in times of crisis or need, as the management of funerals for deceased townsmen, the rebuilding and furnishing of someone's house after fire, or the donation of material aid and labor to the aged, handicapped, or infirm. These were not entirely exclusive organizations since membership and function often overlapped. For example, if a townsman took ill, the poor-aid society might donate its services to the upkeep of his fields until he regained health (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 80).

The weakening of the poor-aid society in Yellow Hill as the result of white influence has been described by Gilbert (1943, pp. 362–363). The opening of a manual training course in the Government school in which, among other things, the students built coffins, soon deposed the coffinmaker, a previously important position in the poor-aid hierarchy. In addition, the opening of an Agency hospital and the distribution of Government relief checks gradually stripped the poor-aid society of its most important functions. Today in many of the reservation communities the existence of these organizations is

given mere lipservice. Since World War II, Community Clubs, introduced and sponsored by the State of North Carolina, have tended to replace the poor-aid societies as organizational frameworks for communitywide action. In Big Cove some previous functions of the poor-aid society, such as grave digging, have been reabsorbed by the Gadugis.

In the 1920's, a lumber company obtained rights to cut trees on the reservation and adjoining areas. Railroad spurs and temporary sawmills were quickly constructed, and a brief period of prosperity ensued. Indians were hired singly and in Gadugi groups to assist in the lumbering operations. A few short years later the company left, having denuded the area of much of its best timber. Many Cherokee who had come to depend on the lumber company's wages were suddenly jobless.

Following closely on the heels of the lumber company's departure was the chestnut blight. The loss of the chestnut tree had important repercussions on the local economy. Besides losing an excellent fuel and building material, the Cherokee also lost the chestnut itself, one of the delicacies in their diet. More important, the chestnut had helped maintain the local game supply, besides serving as fodder for domestic animals who in the past had been left free to forage for themselves in the forests.

Two governmental regulations also played a role in disturbing the local economy. The age-old Cherokee practice of burning the brush every autumn was deemed a threat to the forest and forbidden by the Interior Department.[16] The annual burning had helped to restore fertility to the soil and also helped to control secondary regrowth. The Cherokee feel that this regulation is causally linked to the chestnut blight. The enforcement of the State fencing law had a more direct effect on the economy. This law, which required that all domestic animals be enclosed by fences, succeeded in killing practically all stockraising in the region and was directly responsible for the declining prosperity of local farmsteads.

The national depression, although it affected the subsistence agriculture of the Cherokee less than it did industrial areas, was a severe blow. Government relief funds eased some of the economic pressure. After World War II came a tourist boom that was stimulated partly by the new Great Smoky Mountains National Park, which has a long common border with the Qualla Reservation. Economic conditions have now improved somewhat, but the relative prosperity and self-sufficiency of the independent farmer, depicted during the period from 1890–1920, which is remembered by informants as a sort of golden

[16] This makes no sense to the Cherokee. They feel that the dead brush that accumulates on the forest floor increases the possibility of serious forest fire.

age, has never been completely regained. At present, the tribal council is endeavoring with fair success to attract small industry to the reservation.

There are three Gadugis operating in Big Cove today. About one-fourth of the adult population belongs to these organizations. Two of these have long been separate, the division having been noted by Gilbert in 1932 (1943, p. 212) and probably extending further back in time. This division seems to be based on geography, one group serving "Stony" or "Calico," the lower section of Big Cove, and the other serving the "Upper Cove" and "Bunches Creek." Although Big Cove is segmented into many subdistricts or wards, the principal division between Upper and Lower Big Cove seems to have been of long standing. In the past the two sections engaged each other in stickball, and today each has its own softball team. In addition, churches are situated in each district and tend to recruit membership locally. If not impeded by external factors, this process of increasing differentiation might have led to the formation of two separate communities. A common grammar school, a community club, and common representation in the tribal council tend to unite the larger community, but the underlying sectionalism is still present. The Lower Big Cove Gadugi has deteriorated of late and only numbers about five or six active members, most of whom are "White Indians." In the past, membership was larger, and the group was more active. This Gadugi seems to have declined since the death of its former chief many years ago.

The Gadugi in Upper Big Cove split into two groups about 5 years ago because of internal dissension. The newer group blames the split on the dishonesty of the former treasurer [17] and the general laziness of the members, while the parent group feels the split was caused by gossiping wives. It is interesting to note that the break seems to have been along matrilineal lines, since the nucleus of the new group is formed by three sisters and their families. Although the Gadugi is supposedly a male organization, this split left two sets of brothers in different Gadugis, suggesting that while the overt structure of the Gadugi is male dominated, females possess much power in the latent structure of the organization. The newer group has about 15 active members, while the older has about 25. Although this split cannot be accounted for by geographic considerations, probably the size of the organization and the increased possibility of interpersonal clashes were important determinants. It appears that a membership of about 30 is the optimum for a smooth-running Gadugi. Beyond this size the organization seems to become unwieldy.

[17] This man has since been accused of squandering funds by the older Gadugi and has joined the newer group, where, we are told, he will never be entrusted with the office of treasurer.

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In 1958, the larger Gadugi elected a full roster of officers.[18] The organization is headed by a chief and an assistant chief who decide what work shall be done and where, and serve as overseers during the work.[19] The secretary keeps a record of attendance at work parties, of the election of officers, and of changes in the rules. The treasurer records the amount of money collected at social meetings, and its disbursement. Theoretically speaking, women are not supposed to hold office in the Gadugi, except as cooks, but in this instance a woman was elected treasurer. Two warners or messengers, young men chosen from different neighborhoods, notify the members of approaching work parties. Other positions include a grave-digger's foreman, a carpenter's foreman,[20] and four female cooks.[21] This Gadugi boasts a distinctive and, we think, rather informal office—the "chairman" or adviser—filled by an elderly man who is one of the few men in Big Cove still fluent in Sequoyah's syllabary and able to keep records in Cherokee for the group.

Whenever the Gadugi works someone's fields or chops wood for a needy person, the recipient of the labor is obligated to serve the group a meal. This is no ordinary repast but a minor feast, usually including fried chicken and many other delicacies. While the elected cooks handle the cooking chores, the food must be supplied by the host. This frequently results in a seeming contradiction of goals. A needy person requiring the help of the Gadugi often has to borrow money in order to feed the group in proper fashion.

In the summer, the Gadugi can be summoned on 1 day's notice, but during the winter 3 days' notification is necessary. When the corn is planted, the Gadugi may meet to work two or three times during 1 week, and then may not meet for another 2 or 3 weeks. During the winter, the chief function of the Gadugi is to cut wood for old or incapacitated members. The Gadugi also contributes labor to the building of houses and foot bridges.

Most informants agree that in the past the Gadugi was a very efficient work team. Not only were clearing, planting, and harvesting the fields considered group endeavors, but also weeding and "topping" the corn during the growing season. White men in the community often were members of the organization and worked side by side with the Indians. In the old days, a work party was looked upon as a very happy occasion. Fifty or more people would gather at the appointed field; each person would be responsible for one or more rows of corn

[18] See translation of the Gadugi's minutes in Appendix 2.

[19] While the data of Speck and Schaeffer (1945) suggest that the office of poor-aid leader was a survival of the older office of peace chief, Gearing (1958, p. 1157, footnote) states that the word for a Gadugi foreman means war chief. Our field data support Gearing's statement.

[20] Positions newly incorporated into the Gadugi from the poor-aid society.

[21] "To cook night and day"—day cooks prepare food while the group is working in the fields, while night cooks handle kitchen responsibility during "setups" or all-night wakes that precede burial.

and go along it to the end. There were so many workers that the job was always finished quickly. Old men hated to be left out and would be given small plots to hoe along with the rest. The old people would also sit around and tell stories and contribute in general to the group morale. Children, who were also part of the scene, would play games or make themselves useful by fetching water for the workers or performing other light tasks. While the group toiled, the cooks prepared enormous feasts which are still remembered with reminiscent appetite. Those who were unable to join in the work on the announced day would often donate food or money to compensate for their absence.

Recent observations of the Gadugis in action stand in marked contrast to the sunny chunks of memory culture reported above. Work parties of the 1950's do not attract such numbers, and one hears frequent complaints about people who turn up just before dinner and disappear shortly after.

Perhaps some of the most significant recent developments in the Gadugi are pie socials and box suppers, institutions that were first introduced about 1918 by mission churches and adopted by the Gadugis within the past 10 years. One night a week at the home of one of the members, boxes of fried chicken or fish with bean bread, and other local delicacies, or cakes and pies are donated and auctioned off to the highest bidder. Hot dogs and soda pop are also sold at these social gatherings, and total proceeds are placed in the Gadugi treasury. On good nights as much as $30 is raised. Careful accounting is made of each purchase, so that the total amount put into the treasury by each member can be easily reckoned. The amount listed under a member's name helps determine how much he may borrow and facilitates settlement if the member should decide to quit the organization. Thus it can be seen that the buying of a cake or pie at a pie social represents an investment rather than a mere purchase.

As was mentioned previously, the Gadugis used to divide up their earnings once a year. Membership therefore constituted something of a 1-year contract. This notion is strengthened by the fact that the annual election of new officers is, in Cherokee, phrased as "renewing" the Gadugi. Money is no longer given back directly, except in the case of loans, but is used for sponsoring Christmas parties or purchasing equipment, as when one of the groups purchased a $180 power saw last winter. Nowadays some money remains in the treasury to tide the group over from year to year, giving the organization more continuity than it previously possessed. Also, when an expensive piece of equipment is purchased, as a power saw, members feel they own a share of it as long as it lasts.

The future of the Gadugi is uncertain. Many informants feel that interest in the Gadugi is declining, with attendance not so loyal as in the past, and increased internal dissension. The fact that the Gadugi has survived as long as it has is remarkable in view of all the external factors that have jeopardized its existence. Looking into the future, the most imminent threat to the organization would seem to be an increased number of salaried jobs on the reservation and an accompanying change in the conservative value system toward greater emphasis on individual achievement. Until these changes start taking place at a more rapid rate than at present, the Gadugi should continue to persist as a viable, though atrophied institution.

COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE

Agricultural cooperatives and mutual-aid organizations have a worldwide distribution. In his review of cooperative labor, Herskovits cites references to agricultural cooperatives in East and West Africa (with Haitian "survivals"), in North America among the Hidatsa and several Southwestern tribes, in the Pacific and in Indonesia among the Dyaks of Borneo (Herskovits, 1952, pp. 99–108). It is beyond the scope of this paper to digest and interpret these diverse data. However, some relevant comparisons can be made between the Cherokee cooperatives and those found among other Southeastern tribes and the Northern Iroquois.

Swanton has given us a concise and informative summary of the sexual division of labor for agriculture in the aboriginal Southeast.

> The greater part of the cultivation was by the women, but the cultivation of the soil in preparation for planting and some of the early cultivation was performed communally, men and women working together. Gatherings for this purpose were also made the occasion for social diversion, work ceasing at noon or soon after, a sumptuous feast following, the afternoon being devoted to a ball game and the evening to dancing. In Florida the men cultivated the ground and the women followed them, planting the seed. In Carolina Lawson says that, unlike the Iroquois, the women never planted corn, while among the Powhatan Indians, according to Smith, women did all of the work. The missionary Gravier declares that among the Tunica all of this work was done by the men. Some confusion on this point may have been due to the fact that, in addition to the communal fields, there were small garden patches about most Indian towns which were maintained entirely by women. [Swanton, 1928 b, p. 691.]

In another essay, Swanton, relying on Bartram, goes into greater detail for the Creek:

> The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the

males have little else with which to employ themselves." Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder. [Swanton, 1928 a, p. 385.]

The aboriginal Creek agricultural system paralleled that of the Cherokee quite closely. Townsmen were summoned by an overseer and worked fields communally in rotation. Much sociability took place during and following the work. In addition, there were communal as well as individual granaries.

Although one early source says of Chickasaw warriors ". . . rather than condescend to cultivate the earth (which they think beneath them) they sit and toy with their women . . . lolling thus their time away with great indifference . . . ." Swanton notes that as the observer "entertained no love for this particular tribe, it is probable that he has not presented their usages in the most favorable light." Swanton (1928 c, pp. 228–229) believes that the Chickasaw pattern was similar to that described for the Creek. Le Page du Pratz (1758, p. 309) reports that among the 18th-century Natchez the men cleared the fields and hoed the corn, although he says in general, "the girls and women work more than the men and the boys."

A painting by Jacques le Moyne (1564 or 1565, engraved by Theodore de Bry) illustrates the division of labor of the Timucua of the east coast of Florida. The picture shows men and women working together in a field. The men are breaking up the ground with "a kind of hoe made from fish bones fitted to wooden handles," while "the planting is done by the women, some making [regularly spaced] holes with sticks, into which the others drop the seeds of beans or maize" which they take from shallow baskets (Lorant, 1946, p. 77. Also reproduced, on smaller scale, in Fundaburk and Foreman, 1957, p. 26). Laudonnière, commander of the Huguenot expedition which Le Moyne accompanied, adds these details:

> They sow their maize twice a year—to wit in March and in June—and all in one and the same soil. The said maize, from the time that it is sowed until the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but six months on the ground; the other six months, they let the earth rest. They have also fine pumpkins, and very good beans They never dung their land, only when they would sow they set weeds on fire, which grow up the six months, and burn them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood, which is fastened like a broad mattock, wherewith they dig their vines in France; they put two grains of maize together. *When the land is to be sowed, the king commandeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labor, during which labor the king causeth store of that drink* [*cassine*] *to be made for them whereof we have spoken. At the time when the maize is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man, according to his quality.* They sow no more but that which they think will serve their turn for six months, and that very scarcely. [Quoted in Swanton, 1922, p. 359, italics supplied. Illustrated in Lorant, 1946, p. 79.]

This account, since it predates the observations of Bartram and Adair by almost two hundred years, is of great value for assigning considerable age to male participation in communal agriculture in the Southeast. The dispensation of the drink hints at the festive or perhaps religious atmosphere surrounding the work.

Before passing to the Iroquois, we quote Lawson's description of an interesting custom practiced in the early 18th century by one of the small Eastern Siouan tribes or perhaps the Tuscarora (not specified) which seems to have certain parallels to Cherokee poor-aid practices.

> They are very kind and charitable to one another, but more especially to those of their own Nation [town or sib?]; for if any one of them has suffered any Loss, by Fire, or otherwise, they order the grieved Person to make a Feast, and invite them all thereto, which, on the day appointed, they come to, and after every Man's Mess of Victuals is dealt to him, one of their Speakers, or grave old Men, makes an Harrangue, and acquaints the Company, That that Man's House has been burnt, wherein all his Goods were destroyed; That he and his Family very narrowly escaped; That he is every Man's Friend in that Company; and, That it is all their Duties to help him, as he would do to any of them had the like Misfortune befallen them. After this Oration is over, every Man, according to his Quality, throws him down upon the Ground some Present, which is commonly Beads, Ronoak, Peak, Skins, or Furs, and which very often amounts to treble the Loss he has suffered. The same Assistance they give to any Man that wants to build a Cabin, or make a Canoe. They say it is our Duty thus to do; for there are several Works that one Man cannot effect, therefore we must give him our Help, otherwise our Society will fall, and we shall be deprived of those urgent Necessities which Life requires. [Lawson, 1714, pp. 188–189.]

In this example, and others which could be cited, the use of a feast as a lever for group effort can be clearly seen. This may explain the seemingly paradoxical findings for the contemporary Eastern Cherokee in which needy people feel obligated to give a meal, even on borrowed money, when the Gadugi comes to help them. Also, the use of communal male labor for difficult tasks, as house building, seems to be general throughout the Southeast.

It appears from this cursory review of the aboriginal Southeast that men, as well as women, generally played an important part in agriculture, and that organized communal labor in the fields and in assistance to the poor were fairly universal in the area. Also, this system of cooperation was closely linked to the local town organization, which in many ways transcended the household as a basic unit in social organization.

Mutual aid and cooperative agricultural organizations among the Iroquois have been mentioned in a number of places.[22] Before

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[22] The authors' grasp on Iroquois ethnography is at best tenuous. Neither of us has had first-hand field experience in Canada or New York State, nor do we pretend to adequate command of the rich documentary source material available to the Iroquois scholar. We hope merely to draw comparison and help stimulate

attempting to draw some comparisons between the Cherokee cooperative institutions and those of the Iroquois, as they appeared historically and as they persist today, it might be well to consider first some relevant basic structural features in which Cherokee and Iroquois society differed.

Geographical features of the two areas seem to have encouraged differences in settlement pattern. The Iroquois area afforded an abundance of arable land in contrast to the mountainous topography that characterized much of the Cherokee homeland. As a result, Cherokee settlements tended to be more spatially diffuse, often following tillable land along meandering river valleys and irregular mountain hollows. Iroquois settlements, on the other hand, were generally more compact and able to support a more concentrated population. In addition, the openness of the Iroquois territory and the propinquity of hostile Algonkin bands and other Iroquoian groups necessitated protective measures not required in the more isolated Cherokee heartland. For defensive purposes, the Iroquois tended to locate their villages on elevated bluffs away from watercourses, and they also surrounded their villages with palisades, a practice that lasted until the end of the 17th century (Houghton, 1916, p. 513, and Stites, 1905, p. 64, citing Lafitau). Palisaded villages were rare among the Cherokee except in those towns lying on the exposed flanks of their territory (Lewis and Kneberg, 1958, p. 158).

In the 17th century, Iroquois villages appeared to be more populous than those of the Cherokee and fewer in number. Fenton (1940, p. 203) lists a total of only 10 to 13 towns for all of the Five Nations. He estimates a total Mohawk population of 2,700 in 1634 distributed in 3 towns, the largest numbering 1,035, the smallest 810 (ibid., p. 206). These per-town figures are almost twice as large as those reported for the largest Cherokee towns. In another place, Fenton (1951, p. 41) says, "Before 1687, the League Iroquois were 12 or 13 villages, ranging between 300 and 600 persons per town." This more conservative estimate would still make the average Iroquois village twice as populous as the average Cherokee village.

One of the mechanisms by which the Iroquois were able to concentrate their population was, of course, the longhouse, a multifamily dwelling accommodating as many as one hundred or more individuals (Goldenweiser, 1922, p. 70). Whereas the town, or symbolically the townhouse, was the principal focus of Cherokee culture, the longhouse tended to be the basic conceptual unit of Iroquois life. Iroquois residence rules seem to have been more strictly matrilocal than those

research in the important, but too often neglected area of joint work groups. In writing this section we have relied primarily on secondary sources. The sources consulted which mentioned mutual-aid societies or cooperative agricultural groups were: Stites, 1905; Waugh, 1916; Goldenweiser, 1922; Fenton, 1936 and 1951; Quain, 1937; Lyford, 1945; Speck and Schaeffer, 1945; Noon, 1949; and Brown, 1950.

of the Cherokee, and the spiritual, as well as authoritarian, core of the longhouse was a group of matrilineally related kinswomen headed by an elder matron. Some of the implications of this fundamental difference in town size and house type will be dealt with shortly.

The Iroquois also seemed to have shared with the Cherokee a system of private-family gardens and larger cornfields which, while individually owned, were worked communally (Waugh, 1916, p. 7). While the Cherokee utilized a communal granary, supplied by donations from the fields of all townsmen, for religious and civil functions and emergencies, the Iroquois are reported to have reserved special fields to provide for such purposes (ibid., p. 6). The Iroquois fields were closely grouped outside the walls of the village. The fields of the Cherokee were normally located within the confines of the town, interspersed amongst the houses, and sometimes were planted up to the edge of the council house.

There is much literature concerning the sexual division of labor, especially the role of women, among the aboriginal Iroquois. Male participation in agriculture was strongly devalued in Iroquois society. However, it is known that the men did participate to the extent of clearing the land by girdling trees and burning over the fields. There is also some evidence that men assumed the tasks of fencing the gardens and preparing bundles of corn for drying (Stites, 1905, p. 29, citing La Potherie and Lafitau). Moreover, certain classes of males did take part in cultivation. These included old men, children, cripples, captives who were not formally adopted into the tribe, and effeminate men. Ely S. Parker was quite explicit about the degraded status of an able-bodied man who pursued agriculture. He says,

> ". . . when any man, excepting the cripples, old men, and those disabled in war or hunting, chose to till the earth, he was at once ostracised from the men's society, classed as a woman or squaw, and disqualified from sitting or speaking in the councils of his people until he had redeemed himself by becoming a skillful warrior or a successful hunter." [Quoted in Stites, 1905, p. 42.]

A. C. Parker remarks about the persistence of this attitude by noting, "Some of the old warriors whom the writer interviewed told laughable stories of grim old 'warriors' who had been caught with a hoe and how they excused themselves" (Parker, 1910, p. 22).

This stigma attached to males who engaged in agriculture was not as strong in some Iroquoian groups. Carr says of the Hurons,

> . . . The men not only habitually cleared the land . . . but they frequently took part in what is technically known as working the crop, and also aided in the labors of the harvest field. This may not have been part of their duty . . . but when asked to aid in the gathering of the crop, they did not scorn to lend a helping hand. [Quoted in Stites, 1905, p. 28.]

With the Cherokee also, as we have attempted to show in the first

section, male participation in agriculture was frequent, despite the fact that it was chiefly a woman's activity.

One of the most tantalizing, and at the same time crucial, questions in understanding Cherokee-Iroquois local organization is the extent to which sibs or clans tended toward common residence within the local community (see footnote 5, p. 91). The evidence is suggestive, but unfortunately inconclusive, in the case of both the Cherokee and the Iroquois, and, because of the failure of older rules of residence to survive to the present, current fieldwork in reservation communities will not give us the answer.

With respect to the Iroquois, Goldenweiser states,

> The clans, in ancient times, were associated with localities and longhouses, not in the sense of a clan claiming exclusive occupation of a village or a longhouse . . . but in the sense of a clan being regarded as preeminently associated, as being in "control," in a village or a longhouse. [Goldenweiser, 1913, p. 368.]

In a similar vein, Fenton (1951, p. 50) cites Asher Wright and statements by informants that, "each clan had its own chief, that formerly the different clans tended to reside together, if not in composite households, in adjacent districts of a settlement with which the name of the dominant clan was associated."

There is similar suggestive evidence for Cherokee "clan" localization. Charles Hicks, a prominent Cherokee chief, had this to say in 1818:

> The national council is composed of chiefs from each clan, some sending more some less, regard being had to the population of each—though the number is not very definitely fixed. *Each clan has its separate portion of land, which it holds in common right*—the poorest man having the same right as the greatest. [Quoted in Swanton, 1946, p. 654—italics supplied.]

Another hint of possible "clan" localization derives from the fact that after the Removal, when the present five Eastern Cherokee townships were set up, three of the five towns were given "clan" names (Paint-town, Wolftown, and Birdtown). This latter clue should not be taken too seriously, because of the artificial conditions under which these townships were set up. However, a close examination of local named neighborhoods within the townships, before the rules of residence had completely broken down, might have revealed positive signs of "clan" localization.

If we assume, for speculative purposes, that Iroquois clans were localized in Goldenweiser's sense of "predominant" within a subarea of a town or village, or within a longhouse, it seems reasonable to assume that the communal agriculture carried on by women, described by Mary Jemison and others, was a clan-oriented (or clan-controlled) organization. This would seem especially likely where,

in longhouses, the possibility of finding a sufficient number of women of the same clan was high.

For the Cherokee, in contrast, the absence of the longhouse, the less secure evidence of clan localization, the greater participation of men in agriculture, together with evidence of a more diffuse settlement pattern and considerably smaller town size, would all be factors unfavorable to the formation of sib-dominated work groups. It is probable that cooperative work groups were locally recruited, and in towns of smaller size may have included the whole town, and thus had a community or neighborhood orientation, with sib considerations being secondary.

Let us now look briefly at some of the historical factors that helped shape the structure of the present-day Iroquois mutual aid groups. The older palisaded villages had disappeared and longhouse living patterns were fairly well broken down by the beginning of the 18th century. From this point on, Iroquois villages began to lose their former quality of compactness and came to approximate more and more their present pattern of scattered rural homesteads.

During the 18th century the Iroquois were key figures in the power struggle between Britain and France for control of the New World. Their strategic position and striking power played a significant role in the eventual British victory. Besides warfare, hunting for food and furs continued to be the major occupation of Iroquois men during this period. The Iroquois again allied themselves with the British during the American Revolution. The war left the Iroquois defeated, demoralized, and disenfranchised. They retired to reservations in the United States and Canada where a condition of general anomie prevailed.

The blocking of the traditional spheres of male activity, warfare and hunting (the latter now less profitable because of diminished game resources), dictated a social reorientation toward white-style farming. The Cherokee were faced with a similar crisis following the Revolution but were successful in rapidly assimilating white agricultural patterns, perhaps because of earlier male preadaptation to farming. For the Iroquois, however, the transition was more difficult owing to the deep-rooted male abhorrence toward working in the fields. Also, it was believed that the connection between women and crops was such that only women could make them grow (Deardorff, 1951, p. 94). Although the Iroquois were traditionally agriculturalists, the newer agriculture called for the use of the plow and manpower to supplant the previous female hoe agriculture (ibid.). Deardorff quotes from Jackson's observations in 1801 among Cornplanter's Seneca in reference to the cautious acceptance of the plow, only after experimentation:

"Several parts of a large field were ploughed, and the intermediate spaces prepared by women with the hoe, according to the former custom. It was all planted with corn; and the parts ploughed . . . produced much the heaviest crop." [Deardorff, 1951, p. 94.]

A year or so before (1799), also in the Cornplanter area, the prophet Handsome Lake's revelations included pronouncements for men to take up the plow, thus giving supernatural sanction for the acceptance of the newer pattern.

It is difficult to trace the exact route of male entry into the female cooperative agricultural units which had already been existing for a considerable time. In one sense, the composite male-female cooperatives can be viewed as extensions of the organization of work surrounding the clearing of the land in which men had formerly participated. Fenton feels that the current mutual-aid society "apparently had its beginnings as a society of males who banded together to assist the women of a clan to whom they were married and their own sisters. They were coresidents in a composite household, or at least of the settlement" (Fenton, 1951, p. 50). It seems as if one can take a long view and see the present organizations as continuations of the aboriginal female cooperative groups, or take a shorter view that looks at these institutions as relatively recent, appearing only with the advent of male participation in agriculture during the beginning of the 19th century.

The present-day Iroquois mutual-aid societies fall into two types: singing societies and bees (Fenton, 1936, p. 5). Among the conservative Iroquois still practicing the Handsome Lake religion are found the singing societies, which take their name from the group singing that accompanies the "feast" after the day's labors. The ideology governing these groups is deeply rooted in the teachings of Handsome Lake. In addition to working in the fields, these groups also assist one another in chopping wood, clearing the tribal cemetery, building and repairing houses, and giving aid to needy individuals (ibid., p. 5); all these functions can be found in similar Cherokee groups. Fenton also mentions a field which all the people cultivate for the benefit of the poor and needy (ibid., p. 5), a trait that seems like an aboriginal survival. The officers of the singing society include a leader and an assistant leader from each group of four clans, a first and second drummer, and a messenger or poormaster to whom needy persons apply for aid and who notifies the other members where and when the group will work (ibid., p. 5). Although clan considerations still obtain in the selection of a chief, locality seems to be the principal factor determining membership, and anyone can join who shows a willingness to work.

Cooperative work groups are also found among the Christian Iroquois. These organizations are usually called bees, and while they function in a similar fashion to the singing societies, they are usually arms of other larger organizations inspired by the church or sponsored by civic groups (ibid., p. 6).[23]

These Iroquois cooperatives do not seem to approach the comparable Cherokee groups in complexity of formal structural features, such as elaborate roster of offices, rules, minutes, etc. Speck and Schaeffer (1945, p. 176), while noting these differences, feel that the Cherokee and Iroquois institutions have a similar base if stripped of their modern trapping. According to them the reconstructed prototype may be defined as, "a voluntary association of individuals, probably community-wide, organized under the supervision of a leader and several assistants to carry on mutual aid or relief within the locality on a reciprocal basis" (ibid., p. 178). The Iroquois and Cherokee are said to share a common pattern of "institutionalization," which differentiates them sharply from the Algonkin, and strengthens the evidence for cultural linkage in the past between these two divergent members of the same linguistic family.

It is possible the Cherokee and Iroquois joint-work groups may be modern manifestations of a genius for "institutionalization," and highly developed patterns of generosity and group effort stemming from roots genetically related in the remote prehistoric past. However, it is our impression, after reviewing the data, that the aboriginal Cherokee organization, which is ancestral to the contemporary joint-work groups, is most closely allied to similar organizations among other Southeastern Indians, notably the Creek. The more recent similarity between contemporary Cherokee and Iroquois cooperative work groups is better explained, we feel, as an example of modern convergence in response to similar historical factors, such as the overt disappearance of hunting and warrior patterns, reservation culture, and acculturation to rural American patterns of farming.

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[23] "'Bees' also occur among the modern Longhouse people at Allegany (especially) and Cattaraugus Reservations. I have attended several very pleasant quilting bees at Allegany, to raise money for the Longhouse and for mutual aid in quilting; these are women's affairs, include a meal, and are very loosely organized without formal officers, etc. The informal 'socials' held in the Longhouse resemble bees: they are generally held to raise money for Longhouse affairs by selling food contributed by members of the community; they normally also involve singing and dancing for recreation; men participate, but women seem to be the main organizers; they also are very informally structured. These strike me as conservative rural traits, rather than aboriginal survivals." (W. C. Sturtevant, personal communication.)

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APPENDIX 1

Minutes of a Meeting of the Mutual Aid Society held at Big Cove Settlement, Cherokee Reservation, N.C. (translation of a diary record of Will West Long, 1932, published in Speck and Schaeffer, 1945):

raven's old gravely yard, August 10, 1932, held meeting and organized to make as a company, renew it and reelect its officers for as long as one year.

First, motioned it and seconded it, chosen as temporary chairman, chairman Tiskwa na i (Going Bird). Next motioned and seconded, chosen Will West as secretary for one year. Third, motioned and seconded, chief head to make speech (explaining) what he has done, also other officers.

Again motioned and seconded: to person who has had any trouble or sickness, to support or help them; Chicilili (Driver) will be the head as long as one year.

Then the volunteer (candidate) to run against Chickilili, Lloyd Wahi ya (Wolf).

Ordered and given them to vote, voted first Lloyd, then last Chickilili.

Lloyd—8 votes

Chickilili—5 votes

Next, assistant chosen, Djani es i (John Lossiah) reelected, chairman allowed him a vote, run against him, for one year.

Next, dead persons coffin-maker, there should be elected again. Chairman allowed them to vote. Driver (Will) should be reelected, they all voted unanimously.

Next, graveyard digger, mentioned and seconded, should be reelected Gwolidge (Wati)

Next motioned, Sunday, foreman, appointed against Gwolidge.

Gwolidge—5 votes

Sunday—10 votes

Sunday elected for one year

Notifier, motioned and seconded, Mason Driver, next Janaluska

Next motioned Russel, motioned elected, Jonah Armachain

Janaluska—4 votes

Mason—11 votes, elected

Russel—8 votes, elected

Jonah—4 votes

Mason, Russel elected for one year

Mentioned and seconded, Joe Wolf reelected coffin-maker elected.

Next, second assistant coffin-maker, mentioned and seconded, let it be reelected Johnny Driver.

Mentioned and seconded Mark Panther, assistant

Johnny Driver—2 votes

Mark Panther—11 votes, elected

Motioned and seconded: if superintendant has an interruption, half-time assistant has to take authority; right to give order to notifier, to help them (people), but first he has to go to find out if it is necessary to help them.

Motioned and seconded: if anyone is an old man, very old and helpless, also some old woman, cannot help herself and is living by herself, he (or she) in anything can be helped; seconded.

Foreman or superintendent, to give order must give advance notice three days before, but if it is hoeing corn or cutting wood, then just at any time he has right to give orders to work.

APPENDIX 2

Minutes of Gadugi meeting January 8, 1958 (translated by Lloyd Runningwolf and Ray Fogelson, also available as written in Sequoyah syllabary and on tape):

The company met today, January 8, 1958. Right now they are renewing the free labor company and electing new officers. They chose Lloyd Wolf Chairman. And now the chairman gives the order to elect officers. Right now they elected Steve Watty as chief foreman. All of them voted (unanimous). And right now Jonah Armachain was elected second assistant. All of them voted.

This is how they decide if somebody thinks he needs help. He notifies the chief four days in advance and they estimate what (work) he needs done and whatever food if he needs it, we donate.

Also, now they elect the warners—Nickodemus (Nick Driver) and John Wilbur Smith and four cooks to cook day and night—Rachel (Watty), Lizzy (Sequoyah), Kina (Armachain) and Nelly (Armachain), and gravediggers' foreman Mark Welche and Wilson Welche and carpenters' foreman Lloyd and Walker Calhoun.

Big Cove Welfare Company Free Labor bosses, Steve and Jonah, Secretary Emerson Sequoyah. Money treasurer Rachel Watty. Chairman Lloyd Wolf life-time chairman and Cherokee clerk (scribe) are seated for one year. Moved and seconded. Moved that this meeting be closed, seconded.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 12. The Rise of the Cherokee State as an Instance in a Class: The "Mesopotamian" Career to Statehood

By FRED O. GEARING

THE RISE OF THE CHEROKEE STATE AS AN INSTANCE IN A CLASS: THE "MESOPOTAMIAN" CAREER TO STATEHOOD

By Fred Gearing
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In human history, probably thousands of states have been created by an unending process whereby states form, the states then break up into smaller parts, and these parts (usually joined by parts from other states similarly broken) reorganize themselves into new states. The formation of the United States was an instance of the creation of a state out of parts, each part having had in its political tradition the prior experience of statehood.

But in some few score instances in human history, states have been formed by people who had lived in politically independent face-to-face communities, that is, who had had no prior experience of living in states. These new or naive states may arise through the conquest and forceful dominance by one community over others. Or these naive states may arise out of segmentary societies when ranking lineages or clans gain monopoly over functions deemed vital, for example, rainmaking, and through such monopoly gain coercive leverage over lesser lineages or clans. Or these naive states may arise when several politically independent face-to-face communities voluntarily join in a single political unit.

The rise of the Cherokee state in the mid-1700's was an instance of independent face-to-face communities joining voluntarily. Probably the rise of the earliest states in the Mesopotamian area was another instance. Possibly, the remaining classical first states in the Near East and Middle and South America were other instances.

This paper offers the tentative suggestion that all naive states which have arisen through the voluntary political merging of face-to-face communities began from one kind of village political organization and followed a common developmental career. This class of instances of state formation will here be called "Mesopotamian." The paper modifies and extends a hypothesis presented by Adams (1956).

In sum, I suggest a gross typology of the rise of states:

1. States arise out of the breakup of other states.
2. States arise "naively" from societies not states, in three ways:
   a. Through conquest,
   b. When ranking segments gain crucial monopolies,
   c. When face-to-face communities join voluntarily.

My thought is that all instances of "2c" might be found to follow a common developmental sequence.

I tentatively suggest that such Mesopotamian-type careers of state formation have always four features: First, the traditional village political organization was of a certain type, to be described. Second, these villages voluntarily join to become states only under duress which they in common perceive. Third, the earliest unification is accomplished under priests. Fourth, soon new forms of coercion in political relations must appear. This paper addresses these four points in order.

(1) I turn to the form of traditional political organization of the villages. My notion is that villages cannot become states through voluntary unification unless the traditional village political organization has all five of the characteristics which follow. First, the villagers consciously distinguish between two categories of village tasks: those tasks which are coordinated through coercive command, in contrast to other tasks coordinated through voluntary consensus; in the latter the major sanction is to withdraw affection, a loose and informal ostracism. Second, the villagers sort themselves as personnel differently for the two sets of tasks; the total village is organized first one way, then reorganized a second way according to the task at hand. Third, the villagers raise different individuals to positions of leadership in the two systems of personnel. Fourth, villagers select those two kinds of leaders by their respective competences as demonstrated in past performance; leadership is achieved, not ascribed by birth; the salient required qualities are, for the tasks coordinated through command, fearless and egocentric courage, and, for the tasks coordinated through consensus, restrained sensitivity to nuances of feeling in others. And fifth, the village offers a greater honor to those restrained and sensitive persons who lead in those tasks which demand voluntary consensus. All villages which begin the Mesopotamian developmental career do so, I suggest, from this base.

Cherokee villagers consciously distinguished between two categories of village tasks; and villagers organized themselves as personnel differently when they attended the tasks in each category. Red tasks—war, negotiation with foreignpowers, ball games—were coordinated by command through a hierarchy of war ranks under the village war chief. White tasks—ceremonials, councils, perhaps agricul-

ture—were coordinated by voluntary consensus which was created through the influence of the old men in their respective clans, all under the leadership of the village priest chief who was both the symbol of village harmony and the major cause of that harmony.[1]

Jacobsen (1943) describes the precivilized Mesopotamian village by inference from the social organization of the life of the gods as depicted in the mythology of later civilized periods. The parallels between the political organizations of the Cherokee village throughout the 18th century and the precivilized Mesopotamian village are sufficient to assign the two to a single class. The Cherokee structure for White tasks was essentially the same as an analogous Mesopotamian village structure, that is, the structure of general councils was virtually identical. The Cherokee village priest-chief had a Mesopotamian counterpart as suggested to Jacobsen by the god An (the father of the gods). The Cherokee old men, organized as a body of elders, had a counterpart suggested by the body of 50 senior gods. In Mesopotamian councils, decisions were apparently reached by the same semblance of unanimity as in Cherokee councils; the Cherokee used magic to make their arguments irresistible while Mesopotamians prayed for the same gift and admired the ability to be convincing; the Cherokee brought themselves into the deferential frame of mind appropriate to councils by holding councils in conjunction with religious festivals, while Mesopotamians established precouncil euphoria by drinking; Cherokee elders were the large influences while the Mesopotamian elders "carried" the discussions; the Cherokee had to rely on the voluntary deference of every villager while Mesopotamians called discussions "asking one another"; adequate agreement by a Cherokee was indicated by withholding further objections, and in Mesopotamia silence was consent; the Cherokee priest-chief (or his speaker) announced the group decision as did the Mesopotamian counterpart. The implementation of decisions was alike: the Cherokee were expected to abide by unanimous council decisions and those who did not experienced the diffuse displeasure of the whole village, while Mesopotamian decisions were followed by a "promise," probably a binding vow, by all present.

As with the Cherokee Red tasks, whenever a Mesopotamian village faced a crisis situation, especially war, it temporarily delegated power to a person selected to be "king" and the village was reorganized as a hierarchy of command.

For both Cherokee and Mesopotamians, then, there seem to have been two categories of village tasks. To accomplish the two

[1] My article, "The Structural Poses of 18th-Century Cherokee Villages" (1958), describes in brief detail the two ways in which a village population organized itself for these two sets of tasks. Note that the Cherokee did not have moieties; the total village population organized itself in one manner for Red tasks, and that same total population reorganized itself in a second manner for White tasks.

kinds of tasks, the total village population was organized and reorganized as two systems of personnel. One system operated through a chain of command with powers to punish, the other through a gradation of influence with only the sanction of withdrawing affection. It follows that the art of leadership was, in each system, very different.

Any Cherokee could rise to leadership in either system. There were no requirements that offices went to certain clans, and there was no visible tendency for offices to be hereditary. Leaders seem to have been selected purely on the basis of demonstrated competence. The same individuals almost never became prominent in both systems. They could have—the Red leadership fell to young men and the White leadership fell to old men, so a man could have become prominent in both systems at different points in his life. But almost none did. In effect, the operation of the political system of a Cherokee village selected for provenience two kinds of men with two kinds of competence. A leader in red tasks rose in the war ranks through success at war which included not only killing enemies but artful operation within the hierarchal system of commanders and commanded. All young men were warriors, but the kind of man who emerged at the top was egocentric, fearful, "mean." By the village at large, these men were given formal honors and sometimes material rewards; but otherwise they were held at arms length, greeted with suspicion and ambivalence. A leader in white tasks emerged by the gradual accumulation, through most of a lifetime, of affection; the man who artfully operated in this system of relations was patient, restrained, and sensitive to the sentiments, often unspoken, of those around him. These men epitomized the good man, the Cherokee ideal; they enjoyed unmixed respect and were, indeed, called the "most-beloved men."

It is unclear whether, in Mesopotamian villages, leadership was achieved rather than ascribed, and whether single individuals became prominent in both systems of personnel rarely or more often. It is clear that leadership in those tasks which were coordinated through consensus was more honorific than the temporary leadership of the "kings" during crises.

I have suggested that the political systems of Cherokee and Mesopotamian villages were identical in that both distinguished between two categories of village tasks and both reorganized themselves as personnel for each category; I suggested only the possibility that Mesopotamian villages, like Cherokee villages, selected leaders according to demonstrated competence rather than birth, and seldom raised the same individual into prominence in both kinds of leadership; I suggested further that both peoples awarded greater honor to the leaders in those tasks coordinated through consensus, relative to

leaders who were commanders. Finally, I now suggest that the villages of Middle and South America were possibly identical in these respects, that all these, with others, form a class of village political system, and that only villages of this class are able to take the "Mesopotamian" route to statehood.[2]

(2) I have described the political organization of villages which begin the Mesopotamian career to statehood and turn now to the developmental process. I turn very briefly, merely to name the second of the four features which characterize the Mesopotamian career to statehood. Possibly, such villages join to become states only under external duress which the villages severally perceive; their recognized choice is statehood or pain. Such duress can be exerted by the social environment or can come from the natural environment.

In the Cherokee instance, duress came from the new Colony of South Carolina. South Carolina treated the 60-odd independent Cherokee villages as if they were a single political whole. If a trader were killed in Echota, the cornfields of Tugalo might be burnt. More hurtful still, trade to all the village might be cut off leaving Cherokee without ammunition and vulnerable to enemy tribes on the south, west, and north. By the early 1750's Cherokee had recurrently experienced such reprisals, and with increasing frequency. Their first moves toward statehood were explicitly in response to this new fact: Persons in any village had no control over the behavior of other villages, and yet could be made to suffer because of that behavior.

Adams (1956, p. 228) suggests what may be analogous demands by the natural environment in Mesopotamia and Peru; the demands in Mesoamerica may prove to have come, as with the Cherokee, from the social environment. The first move toward statehood, he says,—

> is perhaps most "understandable" where irrigation or other systems of intensive cultivation requiring the planned efforts of sizable groups were *necessary* and practical, as in southern Mesopotamia and some of the coastal Peruvian valleys. . . . But, as shown in lowland Mesoamerica, increasing population and growing diversity in intra- and intercommunity tasks could lead to the rise of the same institutions even where irrigation was an apparently negligible factor [italic mine].

(3) The first moves toward statehood are coordinated by religious officials. By inference, religious officials are leaders trained and se-

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[2] Jacobsen suggests that the political organization of Mesopotamian villages was paralleled by the villages of all primitive Europe, particularly the Teutonic tribes and Homeric Greece, and by the Hittites (1943, p. 172 and ftn.). Similar sets of political behavior seem characteristic of North American Indian groups as divergent as the Cheyenne (Llewellyn and Hoebel, 1941); the Hopi (Titiev, 1944) and Pueblos generally (Ellis, 1951); and the Fox (Miller, MS.). Middle and South American high civilizations possibly started from this same base, as did the Munda (Sinha: lecture 1956). The features seem not to occur in Southeast Asia and probably not in Africa. But with such a wide distribution, this set of practices appears to be one stable form of organization into which small face-to-face societies easily fall. Any society is a candidate for admission which has a peace chief and a war chief, or inside and outside chiefs, and which utilizes as its major sanction a loose form of ostracism.

lected through proficiency in that class of village tasks traditionally coordinated through voluntary consensus—the White tasks in the Cherokee instance. Hence these first leaders are those who, among all villagers, are, through natural bent and through training, most patient, most restrained, most sensitive to the nuances of feeling in others. These men are able to move unthreateningly behind the territorywide consensus they help create. In the 1750's under such priests—first Old Hop, then Standing Turkey—the first Cherokee tribal state was formed. Adams reports, concerning the classical states:

> Our story begins in each instance with an established network of agricultural communities, perhaps centering their socioreligious life around small shrines known for Coastal Chavin in Peru and the Early Ubaid of Mesopotamia. . . . *The formal integration of these communities into areal groupings seems in each case first to have been achieved on a significant scale by individuals whose authority devolved from their positions as religious spokesmen* . . . [italic mine].

The Cherokee case suggests reasons. Cherokee antipathy to coercive acts inside the village caused most Cherokee to develop highly the art of sensing and affecting the sentiments of others. That same antipathy to coercion caused them to elevate their least coercive and most sensitive persons into the positions of greatest influence, the priest-chief and the men who assisted him; the Cherokee village appears to have selected and trained a leadership especially gifted in sensing and forming public sentiment. Given the need to coordinate the actions of more than one village, that priestly leadership was especially equipped to sense minute jealousies and to nurture trust. We are dealing with the joining together of coequal villages, an action which would seem to require a large measure of cohesive public sentiment. Under such priestly leaders (as against the more authoritarian leaders of Red tasks), a cohesive public sentiment had the best possible chance to form. In the first decades of emergent voluntary states, the rate of collapse of state structures is probably very high. Probably only where men so trained exist and where leadership falls to them, can there be hope of success.

(4) Once territorial integration is achieved, the mere fact of the territorial expanse of the state creates the necessity to introduce forms of coercion in the state machinery; the cultural and psychological processes which make consensus-direction possible in a face-to-face community cannot adequately operate in a spatially dispersed population. Other factors such as increased heterogeneity—specialization, emergent classes, etc.—may compound that necessity; but the mere spatial dispersion of the population is a sufficient cause. The forms of new coercion are highly variable.

The Cherokee state which emerged was built on the model of the political organization of the villages—the five features referred to

above. The new coercion now necessary was soon (in the 1760's) built into the older organizational forms, particularly by allowing legitimate coercion on the part of the priests.

By established tradition, the only sanction which could legitimately be used in the coordination of Cherokee White tasks was the withdrawal of affection. That sanction could not operate among strangers and could operate reliably only in the set of personal relations within a face-to-face community (where there was a quantity of affection to withdraw). Hence, the control of Cherokee behavior throughout the tribe required that there be a single strong sentiment which reached every village. However the fact of Cherokee spatial distribution required councils of the state to be comprised of representatives of the several villages who traveled to the capital village; the total tribal population could not be present. Unanimous agreements were usually achieved in the capital by those physically present. But such agreements did not represent a crystallized tribal sentiment, only the sentiment of those gathered; nor would such agreements necessarily evoke a sentiment in each village sufficiently strong to cause the sanctions of withdrawal to operate effectively in each. The tribe had to devise new coercive sanctions or it would have failed in the task it chose to accomplish. The Cherokee war leaders, already practitioners of the system of coercive relations within the war organiaztion, were the logical persons to call upon. In the 1760's, Great Warrior, formerly the tribal war chief, was raised to the position of priest-chief. From that time forward there was, for example, an explicitly tough policy toward young warriors who raided contrary to tribal policy. Jails were built and probably used.

Adams (1956) asserts that new coercion soon became a part of the operation of each of the classical states. However, in contrast to the above, Adams suggests a matrix of cause and effect to account for that increased exercise of authority.

> Forces inherent in temple control, some of them only coming into being in societies already integrated by temple leadership, gradually weakened the foundations on which temple supremacy rested. The increasing heterogeneity of society, for example, although largely a product at first of elaborations of the temple establishments, must have decreased the effectiveness of purely religious sanctions in the administration of community affairs. Warfare, previously confined mainly to raids, increased in scale and importance.... Under the influence of all these forces the effective integration of communities in each of the areas required an increasingly authoritarian, militaristic, and centralized character that was also fundamentally in opposition to the traditional activities of the temple.

Adams' materials seem to suggest that many factors, such as a surplus of wealth, may be required to cause status differentiation, secularization, and other characteristics of urban life proper. How-

ever, the Cherokee instance shows that a new political unity of several face-to-face communities can occur without the presence of those other factors and that mere spatial separation within that new unity is a sufficient cause of new coercion in state affairs.

I have offered the hypothesis that, in all instances where states arise naively and through the voluntary joining of independent villages, a common developmental career (here labeled "Mesopotamian") is followed. That career seems to have four features: the villages which set upon the career have a common political system, as described; the move toward statehood starts only in the presence of commonly perceived duress; the first unification is under the priesthood; there follows the early introduction of new and variable forms of coercion in political relations. The hypothesis here offered is subject to only an incomplete form of future proof.

The full Mesopotamian career probably can now be demonstrated in only the Cherokee instance. However, more than one part of that career can be seen in each of the states here discussed or mentioned and in other instances. As in constructing a geological timetable, these parts add together and lend credence to the total developmental careee as a type. Such proof as can be will involve, first, closer scrutiny of thr classical instances in search of contrary evidence; and, second, looking for new instances of complete or partial developments from the large, worldwide class of villages appropriately equipped to begin this Mesopotamian career to statehood.

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No. 13. Comment on Fred O. Gearing's "The Rise of the Cherokee State as an Instance in a Class: The 'Mesopotamian' Career to Statehood"

By ANNEMARIE SHIMONY

COMMENT ON FRED O. GEARING'S "THE RISE OF THE CHEROKEE STATE AS AN INSTANCE IN A CLASS: THE 'MESOPOTAMIAN' CAREER TO STATEHOOD"

By Annemarie Shimony
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Gearing proposes the hypothesis "All A's have the property B," where the A's are naive states arising when several politically independent face-to-face communities voluntarily join together as coequals, and B is the complex property (consisting of four features) of being "Mesopotamian." Such a generalization could be made convincing in either of two ways: (1) A large and varied sample of A's could be examined and all found to have the property B. (2) Well-confirmed physical, psychological, and social laws could make it highly probable that all A's would have the property B, in spite of the existence of little direct evidence to the point.

Gearing's hypothesis is certainly not established by method 1. The number of A's must be in the dozens (many states in primitive Europe and in the Americas are supposed to be of this type), yet only two are examined and found to have the property B—and the evidence in one of these two cases is the Mesopotamian mythology, which may not have mirrored the actual political organization accurately.

Method 2 is applicable only to the least surprising part of Gearing's hypothesis, namely, that duress preceded unification, for the more original parts of the hypothesis are surely not implied by what is known about human nature. The most that could be claimed about the first, third, and fourth parts of his hypothesis is that they are *compatible* with the body of natural and social knowledge; but exactly the same claim could be made for contrary hypotheses. For instance, is it not also plausible that the unifiers were fearless military men, since only such prehistoric Garibaldis could have created the generous enthusiasm needed to overcome local prejudices?

The Iroquois Confederacy was probably a state of the type considered by Gearing, for the origin stories recount its formation from independent neighboring tribes, and historically the Five Nations functioned as coequals. One would like, therefore, to test Gearing's

hypothesis by examining whether the Confederacy exhibited the four features involved in being "Mesopotamian." The origin stories (the Deganawidah cycle) relate that unification was prompted by duress, namely, by the bloody intertribal wars. However, the dominant pre-unification leaders were warriors, and one of the most influential figures in the unification was an alien (the Huron chief Deganawidah). It was the constitution of the Confederacy which converted the leaders into "peace chiefs" and decreed that a murderer was ineligible for this office. Hence the preeminence of White over Red leaders seems to have followed rather than preceded unification, contrary to Gearing's hypothesis. If one is skeptical about the accuracy of the origin stories, then one has no direct evidence about the parts of Gearing's hypothesis which concern the process of unification, but there is historical evidence contrary to the fourth part of his hypothesis, which concerns post-unification politics. After the unification, there was a distinction between peace chiefs and "pine tree" chiefs, the latter being warriors. However, the institution of "pine tree chiefs" was not a coercive instrument for controlling other dissident elements of the community, but was a device for honoring the warriors in such a way that their ambition would be satisfied without overthrowing the constitution.

Despite the above criticism of the generality of Gearing's hypothesis, it should be said that his account of the development of the Cherokee state is a very interesting analysis of how a state may develop.

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No. 14. Cultural Composition of the Handsome Lake Religion

By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

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CULTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE HANDSOME LAKE RELIGION [1]

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INTRODUCTION

In an earlier paper (Wallace, 1956 a) I presented a theory of the origin of new religions. This theory, stated briefly, holds that new religions begin as revitalization movements in demoralized social groups. They are characterized initially by intense emotional fervor and reformist zeal; but if the formal objectives of the movement are achieved, enthusiasm wanes and the new religion is routinized. In complex cultures, the movement often is gradually segregated from the administration of secular affairs and becomes a church. Eventually a reasonably steady state, a new sociocultural equilibrium, is established, with religion relatively passively performing ideologically supportive, psychotherapeutic, and structurally integrative functions.

This paper explores some of the implications, and inadequacies, of this view of the matter. We shall be concerned with the gradual transformation of a revitalization movement, the "New Religion" of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, into a routinized religion, the "Old Way" of Handsome Lake, and with certain concomitant changes in its cultural composition, in its meaning to Iroquois society, and in the identity of its adherents. As we shall see, the life history of the Handsome Lake religion not only illustrates the old hypothesis that religions, born as revolutionary solutions to pressing social problems, become in their old age conservative, while the sacred texts remain relatively unchanged; it also reveals the importance of religion as a means by which the individual expresses identification with or rejection of various social groups. In regard to this latter point, we shall find that the details of pantheon, ritual, and myth may be of less significance to a potential believer than the social identity of the religion; and that the psychotherapeutic and socially integrative functions of a conservative

[1] The research on which this paper is based was facilitated by a Faculty Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council (1951–54). Research assistance was provided by Sheila C. Steen.

religion are very different from those of a new, revolutionary religion.

Methodologically, we shall proceed by dividing our life history into three stages: first, the mission of Handsome Lake, 1799–1815; second, the struggle between the "Christians" and the "pagans," from Handsome Lake's death to about 1850; and third, the routinization of the religion, from about 1850 to the present. In the examination of each stage, we shall classify certain major doctrinal themes in various areas of culture with regard to their sociocultural functions during the period concerned. The themes will be taken from Parker's edition of the Code of Handsome Lake (Parker, 1913), from the brief versions given by Lewis Henry Morgan (1901), and from several Quaker journals and other early documents which record the Code during its first formulation by Handsome Lake himself. Each theme is essentially a value: a statement of a pattern of behavior or experience which is defined as a desirable or an undesirable state of affairs. Taken all together, the set of such value statements, which is the Code of Handsome Lake, constitutes a blueprint of the ideal society, and of the ideal life in that society, to which adherents of his religion subscribe. We shall regard the blueprint as, for the most part, a constant throughout the life history of the religion; its interpretation, meaning, and function vary while its form remains approximately the same.[2]

AN IROQUOIS UTOPIA: HANDSOME LAKE'S VALUE-THEMES

The Code of Handsome Lake, as recorded by Parker, holds a miscellany of utterances attributed to Handsome Lake: accounts of visions, remarks on problems of the day, commentaries on manners and customs, personal history. The values which these utterances express may be broadly classified into seven areas: vices; obligations of kinship; responsibilities to the community; political probity; right religious belief and practice; desirable economic activities; and education.

VICES

Handsome Lake at the beginning of his mission, after the first revelations, laid heavy emphasis on what he alluded to as the "four words" that "tell a great story of wrong": drunkenness, witchcraft, magical

[2] It is beyond the scope of this paper to document the implication that the Code edited by Parker in 1913 is substantially the same text as the verbal utterances of Handsome Lake between 1799 and 1815. The writer's data, from early records, do reveal a remarkable faithfulness in the later versions to their originals: a faithfulness which may depend in part on the fact that written versions were available from early times, and in part from the customary Iroquois demand for verbatim recall by speakers. On the other hand, of course, different "speakers" of the Code repeat more or less different versions; various errors, omissions, and distortions have undoubtedly crept in; and the process of translation into English (the language of the texts cited) adds further uncertainty. Nevertheless, the themes themselves seem to be stable in all versions which I have seen.

love charms and "poisons," and abortion. To liquor, the tool of the Evil Spirit, he later ascribed miscellaneous derivative evils: insanity, quarreling, nudity, vandalism, laziness, depopulation, murder, accidental death, and the blighting of normal growth and development in man and in nature. Elsewhere Handsome Lake inveighed against a multitude of additional evils, some of them the negatives of more positive virtues mentioned below, and others more easily listed as vices: wife-beating, marital quarreling, sexual promiscuity, cardplaying, playing the fiddle, stinginess, failing to keep promises, not believing in kâiwi:yo:h, nonrepentance for sin, and, again, murder. Handsome Lake was very much awed by the power of sin: sin, indeed, was rotting away the physical foundations of the earth and would, if unchecked by repentance, hasten an early (three generations or so hence) and apocalyptic end of the world.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE

We need not here describe in detail the many injunctions of Handsome Lake concerning religious belief and practice. They may be summarized by saying that they involved an elaboration of the traditional cosmology and pantheon, with the addition of some new elements: a heaven and hell, the "four angels," a personal creator, a devil with horns, tail, and cloven hoof, and an imminent end of the world; restrictions on the private functions of the "secret" medicine societies; emphasis on the particular value of four already-existing sacred rituals; and a variety of recommendations for religious organization, ritual, and belief, many of which simply endorse traditional practices (for instance, he advised the people to keep up the Midwinter Ceremony).

OBLIGATIONS OF KINSHIP

Handsome Lake repeatedly emphasized the importance of mutual kindness, supportiveness, fidelity, and agreement in the marital relationship. He advised childless couples to adopt children of the wife's sister and to treat them as if they were their natural children. Children should be punished lightly for disobedience, by dunking them in water. Grandparents should be cared for by their grandchildren. As well as may be judged from the translation, the Code placed almost exclusive emphasis on kinship obligations within the nuclear family, and stressed the responsibility of the husband to be the economic prime mover and of the wife to be the emotional rudder, as it were, of the domestic bark. Thus the wife was not to be jealous of her husband's love for their child, and her mother was not to interfere in her relations with her husband. The matrilineal Iroquoian lineage and sib system, so heavily emphasized by reconstruction-oriented ethnologists like Morgan and Hewitt, was by Handsome Lake ignored. The

emphasis was on the nuclear family with the husband and wife responsible to it, i.e., to each other, their children, and their progenitors, rather than to lineage and sib kin.

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Handsome Lake stated a number of values which relate generally to the notion of a well-ordered community. Gossip (by women), boasting (by men), petty thievery, and sexual promiscuity were held up as socially destructive evils. Household hospitality, the entertainment of children playing near the house, and the care and adoption of waifs were held up as virtues. Many of the values classified under other headings also evidently relate to community order. On other occasions, in council, Handsome Lake spoke of the importance of unanimity of opinion.

ECONOMY

The securing and production of foodstuffs was consistently referred to as a male responsibility. Men should share the fruits of the chase; men should work together in collective "bees"; and men should emulate three practices of the white people: the cultivation of the earth, the building of timber houses, and the keeping of horses, cattle, and swine. These practices were morally justifiable provided they were not undertaken out of masculine pride, but for the sake of the man's family (especially as an insurance against his death). In animal husbandry, furthermore, care must be taken not to overwork the animals. The economic recommendations, largely directed toward men and involving the assimilation of white culture, were not balanced by reference to the traditional feminine horticultural role.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Reflections on political organization were heterogeneous. Handsome Lake was concerned with the lack of unanimity among the leaders of the people, with their quarreling and mutual criticism, their moral weakness in selling tribal lands to the whites, and their division into proassimilation (Christian) and antiassimilation (pagan) factions. He reassured the people that the whites would never exterminate the Iroquois, that George Washington had set aside their reservations for an independent people, and that the Iroquois could and should be neutral in quarrels (such as the War of 1812) among the whites. There was no definite allusion to the recent emigration of Joseph Brant and his followers to Canada. The use of violence to extort conformity in behavior was deplored: witches should not be whipped to death (this despite Handsome Lake's early career as a witch hunter), and the white man's tools of punishment—the whip, the handcuffs, the hang-

man's rope, and the prison—were reserved for the tormentor of the wicked in the next world.

EDUCATION

Although Christianity was not for Indians (and most available teachers were missionaries), it was necessary for the Iroquois to know the ways of the surrounding whites in order to deal with them. Handsome Lake's compromise was to suggest that two students be appointed from each of the Six Nations to study in white schools. This in effect admitted the technological value of white education but recognized the danger that its pursuit might lead to a white rather than an Indian self-identification in the educated.

THE FIRST STAGE: THE "NEW RELIGION" OF HANDSOME LAKE

Viewed within the context of Iroquois society of the period 1799 to 1815, when Handsome Lake was preaching, we can make several direct statements concerning the cultural composition of his Code. First of all, much of traditional Iroquois culture is, in itself, explicitly neither advocated nor rejected by the Code: it is ignored. Presumably this implies a sort of conditional acceptance of the nonmentioned aspects of traditional Iroquois culture: the condition being that if such aspects were to conflict with the realization of the formally asserted values, they would be expendable. Secondly, identification with Iroquois as opposed to white society is in several contexts asserted as a value, but this matter of identification is not a preeminent concern, and it does not generalize into an aggressive type of nativism. Third, white culture is viewed selectively: certain elements of white culture are consciously recommended, particularly economic customs and education, but with due regard for their proper integration into an Indian society (e.g., without pride, cruelty to animals, or white identification by the majority). Other white culture traits are proscribed and either attributed to the Evil Spirit (the Tormentor) or are defined as vices: whiskey, violins, cards, whips, handcuffs, the hangman's rope, and prisons. A great many other culture elements of European origin in use by the Iroquois are ignored and presumably conditionally accepted. Some religious concepts, which to the ethnologist would seem to be, in part, of European origin (such as the notions of Heaven and Hell) are not viewed in the Code as having any relationship to the issue of cultural origins. Fourth, some of the most important and innovative features of the Code seem to be nonacculturative adaptive changes (cf. Wallace, 1956 b) which, culturally, are to be viewed as conscious and deliberate modifications of traditional custom. Several of these are outstanding: the emphasis on guilt, confession, and

self-control rather than cathartic acting out of the wishes of the soul as the preferred mechanism of religious therapy; the recommended substitution of public for private rituals of the medicine societies; the stressing of the four sacred dances as substitutes for the older, boastful warriors' dances; and the redefinition of male and female roles. The last point cannot be stressed too highly: Handsome Lake, by advising men to take over the white male role of agriculturist (a role, with different technology, hitherto played among the Iroquois by women), and by his emphasizing the sacredness of the monogamous, permanent nuclear family, while criticizing male philandering and wives' emotional dependence on their female relatives rather than on their husbands, was undertaking a social revolution. His preoccupation with witchcraft (a largely feminine vice, as he conceived it) may have sprung from the same roots. Evidently he had been impressed by the social damage which was produced not only by liquor and the political and economic difficulties of the Iroquois, but by the brittleness of the nuclear family, and felt that this brittleness was in part a function of the irresponsible behavior of female kinfolk. Implicit in this analysis is a negative evaluation of the adequacy of the matrilineal sib and lineage system as the major focus of kinship obligations. It may be doubted that Handsome Lake consciously recognized that political and economic circumstances required a new kind of domestic culture, one adapted to an ecology of nuclear family farmsteads rather than the older, lineage-centered, female-gardening and male-hunting pattern. But it would seem likely that his impatience with gossiping, scheming women and boastful, quarrelsome, philandering men was prompted by an intuitive awareness of the catastrophic inadequacy of the traditionally defined sexual roles for the maintenance of the type of household economy required by the new agricultural system, which was already springing up under the promptings of Quaker missionaries and white Government officials, and which was demanded by the circumstance of depletion of game, enforced pacification, and restriction to small reservations.

THE SECOND STAGE: CHRISTIANS AND PAGANS

During the 30 years between 1815, when Handsome Lake died, and 1845, when the first public recital of his Code was recorded, the Seneca were increasingly preoccupied with a political problem which shifted the meaning of the Handsome Lake religion from one of reform to one of nativism. During these years, the Seneca were being pressed by the Holland Land Company and its successor, the Ogden Land Company, to sell their reservations and remove themselves to new lands west of the Mississippi. Some representatives of the Federal Government encouraged the various intrigues designed to achieve this end;

Quakers, and other public officials and private citizens, supported those Seneca who resisted the pressure for sale and removal. The upshot of the affair was the loss of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, of the reservations along the Genesee River, and of parts of the Tonawanda and Cattaraugus Reserves; the splitting of the nation into a Christian, proremoval faction, and a pagan, antiremoval faction; and the substitution, at Cattaraugus and Allegany, of a council of elected chiefs for the traditional clan-appointed chiefs (many of whom had, paradoxically, joined the Christian faction).

The public significance of the Handsome Lake religion, which was conceived by its formulator and earliest adherents as an almost revolutionary reformation of the traditional religious system (even displaying manifestly Christian themes) and as a justification for extensive acceptance of white culture elements, thus came to lie in its non-Christianness. It was the "pagan" religion, and thus by implication, the traditional way of belief. The differences between the Christians and the pagans came to revolve more about theology and politics than about practical matters like agriculture and family organization. The pagans, furthermore, became definitely antagonistic toward the more intransigent types of Christian missionary, although they retained a wish that the Quakers should continue to instruct them. After 1826, when the problem of the lands became crucial, the conflict between the Christians and the pagans took on an increasingly bitter tone. About three-quarters of the Seneca population, led by Red Jacket, were affiliated with the Pagan party (National Archives, MS.).

It is probable that the clarity with which Handsome Lake had defined the course of interracial relations—the Indians retaining their lands, their tribal identity, and their own modified pagan religion, while embracing white technology and a Protestant type of personal and domestic ethic—was instrumental in making possible the firm and eventually victorious struggle of the Seneca to remain in New York. But the struggle itself left a legacy: the Handsome Lake followers were now, by contrast with the Christians, the party of nativism. And this nativistic component, while never extreme, may in turn have played its part in forging an association between old customs and the New Religion. This hypothesis would help to explain the failure of the followers of Handsome Lake to dissolve the secret medicine societies, despite the clear proscription contained in the Code. (The excuses given are that the proper ritual of dissolution was not followed at the time of his injunction, and that Handsome Lake's half brother Cornplanter was conspiring to subvert his Code.)

Finally, during the second stage, the Code itself was formulated, out of the recollections of various of Handsome Lake's followers, as

one or more quasi-official texts containing history, comment, and quotation, and came to be recited at regular occasions by recognized preachers.

THE THIRD STAGE: THE "OLD WAY" OF HANDSOME LAKE

The third stage we may date from about 1850 to the present. It is known from written versions of the Code prepared by Iroquois preachers who feared "that the true form might become lost" (Parker, 1913, p. 8), and from the observations of trained ethnologists. One hears, today, the new religion referred to as the "Old Way" of Handsome Lake; its adherents are sometimes called "conservatives," or "old time people." What was revolutionary in the prophet's day is now, one hundred and fifty years later, the extreme of traditionalism. Consider, for instance, the prophet's somewhat defensive recommendations that the Iroquois adopt male agriculture, timber houses, and (for a few) a white education. These startling innovations of 1799 are not merely conventional in midtwentieth century; they are almost archaic, for the surrounding white society has itself changed radically. Most of the men support their families by wage work in various mechanized industries: the railroads, the gypsum mines, the great industrial complex at Buffalo, high steel work all over the country; the women, when they work outside the home, may serve as school teachers, secretaries, factory operatives, domestic servants. Housing, except for a few old structures, is modern. All children go to the State-supported schools. And the transformation of domestic life, which Handsome Lake promoted by teaching the virtues he felt essential to the nuclear domestic unit, has long been completed: the family names are English and are transmitted patrilineally, the man is the provider, and the old clan-and-lineage system, while not extinct, is blurred and not essential to most social relationships.

Thus the "Old Way" now contains little that can be pointed to as distinctively white and modern; the káiwi:yo:h today refers to values and beliefs which, whatever their ultimate origin, are now traditionally Iroquoian. Furthermore, with the fading away of the sharp antagonisms between "Christian" and "pagan," the Christian denominations and káiwi:yo:h bear a relationship not unlike that in white society between Protestant denominations and Catholicism. Thus the significance of being a follower of Handsome Lake today is not one of joining a revolutionary reform movement, nor supporting the antiremoval policy in an intra-Iroquois factional dispute. It is significant as an expression of a somewhat nostalgic and deeply emotional identification with Indianness itself, with the group of "real" Iroquois people, as opposed to identification with white men and white-dominated organizations, and in some cases of a desire for

the personal spiritual salvation achievable by renunciation of sin and acceptance of the leadership of Handsome Lake and the Great Spirit.

The process revealed here may be a common one in the history of religions. Certainly it is reminiscent of the later course of some of the major religions, like Christianity and Mohammedanism; for these faiths too, long after the social stresses which gave them birth as revitalization movements have ceased to exist, long after their sacred texts have lost their connotation of radicalism, live on both as pathways to personal salvation and as generalized symbols and vehicles of group identification. Thus we may suspect that analysis of the myths and rituals of such old religions will tell us more about the culture, personalities, and situational stresses of their founders than of their present practitioners.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 15. Comment on Anthony F. C. Wallace's "Cultural Composition of the Handsome Lake Religion"

By WALLACE L. CHAFE

COMMENT ON ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE'S "CULTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE HANDSOME LAKE RELIGION"

By Wallace L. Chafe

Bureau of American Ethnology
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The essence of Wallace's paper, as I understand it, can be stated as the generalization that religious forms, originating in response to environmental stress, if they survive, tend to remain constant through time while their functions necessarily change as the conditions of the environment change. The statement seems a valid one, and one that applies with particular aptness to the Handsome Lake religion. It is of course not new; Wallace himself speaks of "the old hypothesis." I would like to mention here only the further point that what has been said about religions is really a special case of the larger generalization that social institutions of all kinds, arising in response to something in the environment, may remain constant in form as their functions change with environmental changes.

Several examples within Iroquois culture but outside the Handsome Lake religion have occurred to me. Unlike the Handsome Lake religion, these are forms which were instituted in prehistoric times, so that there is no direct attestation of the environmental situations which conditioned them. From historical records we do know, however, that their functions were not always what they are today.

One example is the clan and moiety system. This was a form that we know to have once been correlated with patterns of residence and associated activities. In Morgan's time, to quote him,"all the institutions of the Iroquois [had] regard to the division of the people into tribes [his name for clans]" (Morgan, 1901, p. 79). He mentions particularly marriage and inheritance. This function of the clans is today only vestigial. Their principal function is, I believe, the assignment of ceremonial responsibilities. A reference to this function is contained in the current funeral address, which attributes the origin of the clans and moieties to the need for a division of responsibilities in making funeral arrangements.[1]

[1] One version of this address is recorded on tape and in my notes, while another was published in A. C Parker, 1913, p. 107.

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It is strikingly apparent to modern observers that a number of cultural forms, once functioning in various ways, have come to have predominantly curative functions, in line with a general preoccupation with health. Examples are the Eagle Dance and the custom of ritual siblinghood, both of which seem to have originally functioned in relation to warfare. Sturtevant has commented on this same point in his discussion of Kurath's paper (this bulletin, p. 202).

The same type of historical development appears in linguistics in the guise of semantic change. As one example, the Seneca word ʔoɛnɔʔ 'song' (literally 'its song') is cognate with the Mohawk word borrowed into English as orenda. In all probability the Seneca word also once meant 'supernatural power,' one of whose manifestations was song. Probably linguistic techniques for the classification of semantic changes can be applied to analogous developments in other areas of behavior.

It might be profitable to view these developments in terms of functional components. In any particular historical period there is one function (or cluster of functions) which is distinctive with relation to the environment, while others are present but nondistinctive. At a later period, with changes in the environment, formerly nondistinctive functions become distinctive, and formerly distinctive functions become nondistinctive or even disappear.

Thus the distinctive functional component of the form designated as the Handsome Lake religion was originally revolutionary reform. Non-Christianity and identification with Indianness were present as nondistinctive functions. It might be said that there was no significant feature of the environment with which they could contrast. Subsequently anti-Christianity and the associated antiremoval policy became distinctive, and today the distinctive function is group identification. The distinctive component of the clan and moiety system shifted from widely ramified regulation of social activities to the assignment of ceremonial responsibilities. A number of cultural forms shifted from distinctive functions associated with warfare and other activities to distinctively curative functions. This manner of treating the material of course implies that there is a way of satisfactorily determining which functions are distinctive and which are nondistinctive during any one historical period.

As a postscript, and apart from all theoretical considerations, I would like to question the historical validity of equating the proremoval faction with the Christian faction. Asher Wright, whose papers I recently examined at the Houghton Library of Harvard, was an eyewitness to this period. He reported that fifteen-sixteenths of the Buffalo Creek population was opposed to removal, and this overwhelming majority included adherents of both religions. Wright himself, the

Christian missionary, was strongly opposed to the removal plans, and land company representatives charged him with acting improperly to keep the Indians at Buffalo Creek. His "Mental Elevator," the periodical published later at Cattaraugus, vividly described the miseries of those who had acceded to the removal demands.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 16. The Redbird Smith Movement

By ROBERT K. THOMAS

THE REDBIRD SMITH MOVEMENT

By Robert K. Thomas
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In this paper I have set myself two tasks. First, I will relate a religious revivalistic movement that took place among the Oklahoma Cherokee around the turn of the century. I think that just the description of this movement will be of interest. Certainly, it is a very important nativistic revival which has never been reported. And since it was a Cherokee nativistic movement it may be doubly of interest to students of the Iroquoian peoples.

The second thing I will do is to discuss some ideas regarding nativism in general that are suggested by this one case—the Redbird Smith Movement.

Now before I get into the description of the movement itself, I shall review the major outlines of Cherokee culture history. In the 18th century Cherokee were following a typical Southeastern pattern of life. Their economy was based on hunting and gardening. They lived in settlements called "towns" along the watercourses of the southern Appalachian region. Each matrilineal extended family farmed a small piece of land along the valley. And in each settlement there was a ceremonial center, usually a "townhouse" for winter ceremonials and, nearby, a pavilion for summer ceremonials.

In the vicinity of the ceremonial center lived the officials of the town organization. There was a series of officials called the White organization. This White organization governed the town in internal civil matters, directed communal farming, and supervised the ceremonies. Another organization called the Red or war organization functioned during periods of warfare. This group of officials was similar in structure to the White organization.

The six great ceremonies of the Cherokee, though too complex to describe here, have these elements in common: the ceremonial lighting of the sacred fire, the sacrifice of tobacco or wild meat to that fire, the purification of participants in the ceremonies, and a series of all-night dances.

There seems to have been no overall political structure among the Cherokee at first contact. The largest unit appears to have been the region with a large town as the nucleus.

The first part of the 18th century was a period of comparative stability for the Cherokee, but in the last decades of that century they became embroiled in a period of intensive warfare with American frontiersmen which lasted some 20 years. During this period most of the Cherokee moved farther south into Georgia and they emerged from this war in a very disorganized state.

Immediately following this period of warfare, in the first decades of the 19th century, Cherokee culture underwent a series of drastic changes. The Cherokee took over much of white technology. They became an educated, literate people. They remodeled their political organization after the republican form of government of the United States. And they became Christians.

I am sure most readers are familiar with later events in Cherokee history—the removal to the Indian Territory; the civil war between the Treaty party, later called the "halfbreed" party, and the fullblood faction; and, once again in the last part of the century, the encirclement of the Cherokee Nation by western pioneers.

If we look at the Cherokee in the 1880's we see that there have been a great many changes in Cherokee culture. The "halfbreed" Cherokee were like western Americans in all but political allegiance. The Cherokee were a prosperous, civilized people. But in the fullblood settlements we still find some continuity with older Cherokee patterns. Fullblood Cherokee still lived in settlements along stream courses in a mountainous region. They had taken over much white technology, but they were still basically hunters and gardeners. And they worked their farms in common as they did in the 18th century. The greatest absolute change was in social organization. Family structure was bilateral. The clan was being forgotten. The old town structure was almost completely gone. The new government had taken over the political function of the old organization. And now in each settlement there was a new ceremonial center—a log Baptist church. All that was left of old Cherokee town structure was the communal work organization.

The one trait complex that had remained intact was the Cherokee curing rites. These rites—the formal prayers and complex ritual—were the core of old Cherokee religious concepts.

As far as traits and institutions go, I think one would have to say that Cherokee life had changed a great deal. What had remained stable is the Cherokee value system and world view. Lacking space to describe these covert patterns, let me mention one Cherokee value that is important in the Redbird Smith Movement—any action that affects the group as a whole, is not, in an obvious way, initiated by any one man. Any action that is taken is first discussed leisurely in an informal context by a great many people, a kind of consolidation of

sentiment. Then, the matter is brought up in a formal context, usually by an older person with some prestige, for the group's consideration. And any decision on this formal level requires some semblance of unanimous agreement.

A crucial part of Cherokee world view that is, also, significant in the Redbird Smith Movement is seeing the universe as having a definite order, as a system which has balance and reciprocal obligations between its parts. The individual Cherokee is a part of this system, and membership entails certain obligations. When the Cherokee does not fulfill his obligations, the system gets out of balance and the Cherokee no longer have the "good life." Most American Indians and, probably, tribal peoples in general seem to see the world in this way. But Cherokee leaders are very conscious of this philosophy and tend to weigh problems in the light of this formulation.

In the 1890's not only had American westward expansion caught up with the Cherokee, but a new philosophy in Indian affairs was being promulgated—the allotment of Indian lands and American citizenship for the Indian. The Dawes Commission came to the Cherokee Nation to get the Cherokee to agree to the allotment of tribal lands and the dissolution of the Cherokee government. The Cherokee leaders refused to consider such a proposal, but the Dawes Commission authorized a census of all Cherokee and a survey of Cherokee lands.

The fullblood Cherokee were very concerned over these events and they were afraid that the halfbreed party, which was in control of the tribal government, would succumb to the pressure. At the same time white squatters began to move onto Cherokee lands. The Cherokee thought they were facing social death—the end of the Cherokee.

There was a resistance organization in the Cherokee Nation that most of the fullbloods belonged to. It was called the Ketoowa Society, the old ceremonial name of the Cherokee. After talking about these alarming events for several years the Ketoowa Society met in special session in 1896. They decided to appoint a committee to "get back what the Ketoowa people have lost." The leaders of the society appointed Redbird Smith, a local society official and staunch traditionalist, to accomplish this end. They appointed a committee, among whom were several prominent Baptist preachers, to help him. The leaders said to the committee, "At some time the Cherokee have gotten off of the clean white path. We took a wrong turn and now we find ourselves in a deep, dark hollow. God has turned his face away from us. We have lost his rule. You must regain what the Ketoowa people have lost."

To digress a minute, I could quote very similar passages from speeches of Cherokee chiefs after the smallpox epidemic in the 1730's and, especially, after the war with the Americans. The system was out of balance and the "good life" was no more.

The first step of Redbird Smith and his committee in his assignment to "get back what the Ketoowa people had lost" was to procure the sacred Cherokee wampum belts. They were in the hands of the son of a former chief. Redbird Smith thought that by interpreting these wampum belts they could reconstruct the old Cherokee faith and ritual. They took these belts around to all the old men in the Cherokee Nation, and even to the Creek and Shawnee, trying to "gain knowledge," as they say in Cherokee. While they were visiting the Creek a society was formed, called the Four Mothers' society, which welded the majority of the fullbloods of all the Five Civilized Tribes into one resistance organization. In structure it resembled the old intertribal councils and was a united resistance movement against the coming allotment system and the dissolution of tribal governments. This society retained lawyers and sent delegates to Washington to fight the prevailing trend in Indian affairs.

In the meantime, Cherokee in various parts of the Cherokee Nation began to revive the all-night Indian dances. A small group of Natchez Indians revived an old Natchez-Creek ceremonial ground in the southwestern part of the Cherokee Nation and fullbloods from all over the Cherokee area began to come to dances there. Redbird Smith and his committee began to meet in session at this ceremonial ground when dances were held.

At the annual meetings of the Ketoowa society all-night dances were performed. It was the pattern, at first, for Baptist services to be held in the daytime and Indian dances at night, but the Baptist services were soon discontinued.

In 1898 the Curtis Act was passed by Congress calling for the dissolution of tribal governments, abolishment of tribal law courts, and forcible allotment of lands belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes. But the fullblood Cherokee refused to enroll for land allotments and the Four Mothers' society was still active in its resistance. In 1902 the Indian office imprisoned Redbird Smith, who was now the leader of the Ketoowa society, and several other fullblood leaders. This broke the back of active Cherokee resistance and most of the fullbloods enrolled.

Then the Ketoowa society did something characteristic of Cherokee under stress. They withdrew. They withdrew from the Four Mothers' society. They would not participate in tribal affairs. And they refused to vote in tribal elections or in the new agreements between the United States and the Cherokee Nation concerning the

settlement of Cherokee affairs. Cherokee today say, "We just depended on our religion from then on."

That same year, 1902, Redbird Smith erected a ceremonial ground in his home settlement. And within a year there were 23 such ceremonial centers in different Cherokee "villages."

At first there was only a firekeeper at each ceremonial ground and a minimum of ritual along with the all-night dances. But by 1916 the Cherokee had not only reconstructed a generalized Cherokee ceremony, but also the old White town organization. As the Cherokee say, "We got the rule back, God's seven clan law, by gaining knowledge and better interpreting our wampum belts." Without going into the details of this long series of innovations, the clan even was revived in this period. And either the revival of this long-dead structure and ceremonies is a great coincidence or else it tells us something about cultural persistence.

Redbird Smith died in 1918 but by the time he died the Cherokee say, "The rule was complete."

I know that it is hardly feasible to generalize from this one case of nativism but the data may suggest some possibilities. For instance, it certainly supports the "deprivation" theory of nativism. But the most significant thing about this very complete religious revival is that there was no prophet connected with it, no vision, and no quick reconstruction of old patterns. The movement was spread out over a 25-year period. In recent years we have tended to dimiss culture as a factor in nativistic movements, and we have tended to see religious revivals as following a common pattern—somewhat in the manner of the classic Ghost Dance—a prophet who has a vision and then a period of drastic innovations.

But Cherokee culture does not allow for a prophet no matter how much stress the society is under. One man just does not initiate action this way. In North Carolina during the winter of 1957, several Cherokee became interested in reviving the old Cherokee religion. Many of them talked about this in informal groups all through the winter and spring. But the subject had not been brought up, although it was hinted at, in the formal meetings of the fullblood political organization. When I left North Carolina in June one of the fullblood leaders said to me, "Sometime next winter we may want you to ask some of those Oklahoma chiefs to come down here and teach us all about the fire." That is the Cherokee way.

I think, perhaps, our data on religious revivals are overbalanced. We have an abundance of spectacular revivals in the literature, but not very much on "pedantic" religious revivals like the Redbird Smith Movement. There have been at least four religious revivals among American Indians since World War II that have never been studied.

And there was no prophet or vision associated with them. These are the kind of "not-very-colorful" movements that anthropologists do not study.

My second task in this paper was to try to suggest some general propositions about religious revivals. Perhaps all I want to say is that culture and cultural differences are important variables even in a discussion of nativism.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 17. Comment on Robert K. Thomas' "The Redbird Smith Movement"

By FRED W. VOGET

COMMENT ON ROBERT K. THOMAS' "THE REDBIRD SMITH MOVEMENT"

By Fred W. Voget
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In this paper, Thomas has presented an apparent case of "spontaneous cultural recovery" in the face of formidable cultural loss and intensive acculturation. It is his contention that the conservatism manifest in the social and ceremonial revival at the hands of Redbird Smith and his followers is largely a matter of persistence. Cherokee forms may have changed, but a basic world view has persisted, and its strength has not only continued and produced the conservative effort at the turn of the century, but also determined its formal organization. The key to this formal organization lies in the traditional value of consensus before initiating action. Hence, "Cherokee culture does not allow for a prophet, no matter how much stress the society is under." The Cherokee events finally are interpreted as a challenge to the contentions of those who have described certain instances of American Indian nativism as syncretic innovations, and who thereby have tended to undervalue the stabilizing and limiting power of culture in the course of acculturation.

The theoretical implications of Thomas' remarks on acculturative processes are of special interest since he seems to assume that human behavior is largely a manifestation of learned, yet covert or unconscious processes. While the assumption of gradual change and unconscious conditioning has held a prominent place in anthropological interpretation, especially emphasized during the thirties, it is now apparent that wholesale reliance on conditioning as an explanatory principle has been premature. If formerly we were aware of the comparative diversity of human behavior, today we are more sensitive to the presence of individual and group behaviors that cannot be attributed unequivocally to cultural conditioning. There seems to be as much reaction and interaction as conditioning, and a good sprinkling of projections, compensations, and rationalizations, too. Since we are in the process of investigating and understanding the human reality, I would suggest that nothing is really gained by asserting the

unequivocal verity of conditioning and then placing it in opposition to other explanations.

The problem of acculturative conservatism, because of its broad context, is of a different order than that of the restraining effects of Cherokee culture on the production of prophets. The persistence of selective forms may owe as much, if not more, to reactive stages and more or less conscious efforts to relearn and to preserve as to a continuity in traditional learnings. This is the way in which I read the Redbird Smith effort "to get back what the Cherokee had lost." Actually, from Thomas' evidence it seems as if Cherokee continuity with the past through traditional learnings had been all but snapped, and in its place a complex psychological configuration may have intruded. Fear, insecurity, hostility, and anxiety, but not traditional "unconscious canons of choice," probably inspired the thin line of continuity with the past which the Ketoowa Society formalized during the faction-ridden years immediately preceding the Civil War. An awareness of crisis again seems to have prompted the organized efforts of the Redbird Smith followers, whose activities by and large involved a considerable relearning.

Actually, in the persistence of forms, it is becoming apparent that the psychoaffect underpinning during acculturation cannot be assumed blanket fashion to be the same as that attributable to the form in its aboriginal context. Further, altered forms may not disturb fundamental structured relationships and expectancies, as Friedl (1956) and Boggs (1958) have pointed out for the Ojibwa. When American culture in formal structures, like the committee and the council, supports decision-making and public action through majority consensus, can we discount completely its contribution to the attitude that consensus prevails? May we not also suspect that the very insistence on consensus is as much the effect of insecurity-anxiety in the face of unrestrained individual and factional action as traditional learnings? It would appear as if form persistences might draw considerable support from a number of meanings and affect-states. In the acculturative context special forms and attitudes may hold a special symbolic significance for the peoples involved.

On the narrower issue of Cherokee leadership during acculturation and its dependence on organized consensus, we apparently enter the domain of the particular, with Cherokee culture our broadest dimension. But Cherokee acculturation does not stand by itself; it moves with events throughout the Southeast and to an extent of the East generally. Throughout these woodlands all peoples seem to have valued and emphasized consensus. When unanimity failed, a narrower consensus commonly prevailed—the consensus of a "faction." Thus we see the Cherokee, Dragging Canoe, leading his supporters

into western Tennessee, and the Mohawk, Brant, persuading numbers of the Iroquois to follow his leadership and accept English protection and policy. Perhaps consensus may have operated in greater depth among Indians of the Southeast than in the Northeast, since the former generally possessed a more organized sociopolitical ceremonial life, even to "tribal arks" carried into battle. However, consensus does not seem to have ruled out the outstanding leader in either the Northeast or the Southeast.

If we are to explain Cherokee acculturation as culture bound, in turn we are faced with the problem of describing and accounting for the prophetic acculturative complex which breaks in part with the past, and which depends on reactive and interactive states. Some problems seem to require placement within interactive and explanatory universes of extreme range, others within narrower ranges. One gets the distinct impression, for example, that the Southeast, as an acculturative universe, held a less intense and violent frontier than the Northeast. Perhaps the Southeast had more opportunity for continuous adjustment. But while the native prophet and revelation generally may have been lacking, there may have been a counterpart in the missionary. In a religious revival climate, Christian membership seems to have increased considerably among the Cherokee, for example, after 1815. Perhaps for a century at least, a religion with an ethical view of man in the universe has been a basic integrate of Cherokee adjustment and communication, whether conservative or not. If this is so, the problem of continuity in Cherokee "curing rites," the very "core of old Cherokee religious concepts" (Thomas, this volume, p. 162) takes on a new significance.

In conclusion, I wish to congratulate Mr. Thomas for a challenging and provocative paper.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 18. Effects of Environment on Cherokee-Iroquois Ceremonialism, Music, and Dance

By GERTRUDE P. KURATH

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EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENT ON CHEROKEE-IROQUOIS CEREMONIALISM, MUSIC, AND DANCE

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INTRODUCTION

The relations and locations of the Cherokee and Iroquois have exerted contradictory forces on the ceremonialism. The linguistic relationship implies possible homologies; the geographical separation entails divergence. A comparative study should first identify similarities and differences, then pry into causes of differences, into natural and cultural environment, and into tribal handling of influences.

For the northern Iroquois the comparisons can derive from a contemporary, thriving ceremonialism with a huge repertoire of dances and songs. For the North Carolina Cherokee they must rely on reconstruction from scant observations and from verbal and written accounts.[1]

CHEROKEE-IROQUOIS PARALLELS

Three decades ago the Cherokee retained two main annual festivals, one at midwinter and the other at the August green corn harvest. In the former a male assembly of masked "Boogers" enacted parodies and mimes; men and women joined in a Bear Dance and an Eagle-Victory Dance. The men opened the summer festival with a new-fire rite and ritual purification by water and medicine. On ensuing days in regular sequence danced the men alone, the women alone, and the sexes together. All made merry in feasts and in evenings of sundry animal and social dances (Witthoft, 1949, pp. 40–41).

The Iroquois still celebrate a prolonged midwinter festival and an early September green corn festival, as highlights of a series of calendrical rituals. Men and women officiate; but the men are speakers and singers; everyone takes part. The celebrants always start with purification, prayer, and tobacco offerings; they sometimes serve a

[1] The Iroquois research was supported variously by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the New York State Museum, the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, and the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The last two organizations also aided the Algonquian fieldwork. Cherokee studies were combined with vacations.

ceremonial berry juice and there is always a terminal feast. The Midwinter Rites include dream and fire ceremonies, medicine dances, and formerly a white dog sacrifice; masked rites, male Eagle and War Dances, mixed Bear and other animal dances (Fenton, 1936, 1941; Speck, 1949). The big Green Corn Feast and the second half of the Midwinter Festival observe Four Rituals to the Creator, which have no equivalent among the Cherokee. Certain longhouses conclude the summer feast with a ceremony by the Society of Women Planters (thɔwi:sas), or with a women's harvest dance from the Tutelo tribe, the Four Nights' Dance (Kurath, 1953). As sequels all people take part in evenings of "social" dances—animal, plant, male, female, mixed.

In addition, the Cherokee held at least one large annual October medicine dance and individual cures and wakes as the occasion demanded. They danced in connection with intertown ball games. At various times during the year the Iroquois play ritual games or enact medicine and mortuary ceremonies. In fall and spring False Faces parade. In early fall, longhouses take turns in sponsoring large meetings of the Six Nations.

The most obvious parallels follow.

WINTER DANCES

The Cherokee Boogers parodied Whites or Negroes, and imitated old men or animals. They were separate from the masked hunters who stalked animals. The Iroquois maskers include a large variety of types, mainly Common Faces, Doorkeepers, and other traditional wooden faces, boys' beggar New Year masks, Husk Faces, cloth Longnoses, and recently, buckram or rubber masks from the dime store (Kurath, 1954 b; Fenton, 1941, 1956). Boogers and wooden False Faces are associated with ancients, ghosts, and addled brains; False Faces with fire-handling and cure; Boogers with prophylaxis by the venting of resentments (Speck and Broom, 1951, pp. 37–38). The Midwinter False Faces enact parodies, analogous to those of the Boogers, at the longhouse in Onondaga Valley, the most exposed to White influences. At Coldspring longhouse football helmets and high-heeled shoes are also reported. The Cherokee events boil down to arrival, parody dance, Bear or Eagle Dance, clown pairing with women, and social dance (Gilbert, 1943, p. 261; Speck and Broom, 1951, pp. 25–39). The Iroquois ceremony follows a sequence such as the Seneca marching entrance, fire-cure dance, pairing with women conductors, and social dance (Kurath, 1951, pp. 118–120). Basic similarities indicate original kinship, with separate additions and local secularization. Though the songs are far from identical, they show tonal and rhythmic kinship (Examples 1a and 1b). The step and behavior in

both cases call for stamp-hops, stooped postures, grotesque teetering, grunting, and whinnying.

Both sets of Bear Dances belong to a different tradition from the maskers. Men and women stomp in a counterclockwise file, imitating bears by gait and growl, and they end with a hop-kick. Cherokee couples also claw at each other and end with a "bear hug." The Iroquois curative ceremony includes a series of songs for treatment, dance of patient, and the closed society, then paired dance for everyone. The more secular Cherokee dance has no break between songs for a fast stomp, a march, and pairing (Kurath, 1951, pp. 120–123). Despite analogous forms, functions have long diverged. In 1615, Huron and Iroquois bear maskers enacted frenzied cures (Champlain in Kinietz, 1940, pp. 140–141). In the 18th century, Cherokee "bears" mimed a hunt (Timberlake, 1765, p. 78).

The Eagle Dance represents an exotic tradition, from the Southern Plains by two diverse routes. The Iroquois curative rite is danced by pairs of youths (Fenton and Kurath, 1953). The Cherokee dance for peace includes women as well as men in a round and a longways dance. It leads into a Victory Dance for men (Speck and Broom, 1951, p. 64).

SUMMER CEREMONIES

The annual Iroquois Green Corn Ceremony resembles that of the Cherokee mainly in objective and in ritual activities, as celebration of harvest and as expression of male and female economic relations (Witthoft, 1949, pp. 38–40). The fire rite has been shifted to the winter. The songs and dances are entirely different. However, the Cherokee sequence of male, female, and mixed dances finds an equivalent in the Iroquois summer Food Spirit Ceremonies, which are female managed. Here the Great Feather Dance features warriors as did the Cherokee Gun Dance, though with different songs and instruments. The women's dance of the Cherokee differed from that of the Iroquois in music and ground plan, but, in the 18th century at least, it had a similar twisting step (Bartram, 1791, p. 299). The Iroquois mixed dances—Trotting, Corn, Bean, Squash—belong to the same tradition as the Cherokee mixed dance, but they appear more closely related to several Cherokee social dances. In fact, these mixers can also be social.

SOCIAL DANCES

The Cherokee yelulé Beginning Dance uses a skeleton version of a melody for the Iroquois Bean Dance; the ground plan is more involved (Example 10). The Cherokee special šelú Corn Dance has the same couples' double file as the special Onondaga Corn Dance or onéha, but it adds gestures of pouring meal (Speck and Broom, 1951, p. 77;

Kurath, 1951, p. 130). The Cherokee dilstí Friendship Dance and the Iroquois ka?ta:syo:t Trotting Dance have the same kind of melodic antiphony (Examples 8, 9), but the former includes features which are distributed among other Iroquois Dances. A periodic partner swap relates dilstí with the Iroquois Garters Dance; a final spiral winding is limited to the native Cherokee dance and the "Cherokee dance" imported to the Iroquois from Oklahoma (Kurath, 1951, pp. 130–131).

In general, Iroquois dances are distinguished in their musical richness and in variety of steps, while Cherokee choreographies show ingenuity in ground plans and gestures. But the two styles are based on the counterclockwise, open circle with a trotting or stomp step. Antiphony is more prevalent and more visible in the southern repertoire, though simple, monotone responses are interpolated in numerous Iroquois nonantiphonal song series. The northern ceremonies and separate songs are more tightly knit, but they proceed, like the Cherokee dances, from introduction by leaders to increasing accumulation of performers. The Iroquois songs are repeated twice, the Cherokee four or seven times (Kurath, MS., 1951; Speck and Broom, 1951, p. 24), but they all use a similar technique of drum or rattle tremolo and of rhythmic pulse in the accompaniment. Usually the instrumentalists are male leaders or special singers, with drum or gourd rattle (or horn rattle in the north); Iroquois men shake or pound turtle rattles. But women may shake boxturtle rattles in their own rites, and in the south they may lead with the jingling of their terrapin-shell shank rattles.

COMPARISON WITH FORMERLY ADJACENT TRIBES

If the Iroquoians separated some four millennia ago, they had ample time to adjust to new surroundings and to engage in give-and-take with tribes in their respective territories. For an understanding of the separate developments it is essential to survey functions and styles of these adjacent tribes. Unfortunately, important links are lost or inaccessible. Also, the ecclecticism of present-day repertoires obscures the issue. Most of the Southeastern tribes have, since removal to Oklahoma, shown remarkable conservatism; yet they have exchanged dances with the Great Plains tribes and renewed exchange with former neighbors, the Shawnee and Delaware. The northern Algonquians are extinct, Christianized, or under the influence of new cults. During the 19th century the Wisconsin Indians superimposed ceremonies, songs, and dances from the Great Plains onto their native repertoires (Kurath, 1959). However, the Fox Indians, throughout migration from Lake Huron to Iowa, have clung to much of their ancient ceremonialism; they could perhaps give a clue to proto-Algon-

quian style, given more song recordings. As it is, they exhibit many parallels with the Iroquoian practices.

In the maze can be seen characteristics and influences, which are attributable respectively, Muskogean to Cherokee and Algonquian to Iroquois. To simplify the comparisons it is best to ignore transitional, obscure, and clearly exotic features, and to limit the search to a black-and-white division, to northern and southern features, corresponding to winter and summer.

NORTHERN FEATURES

Northern Woodland tribes usually celebrated midwinter hunting feasts in small bands or families, isolated in their hunting territories (Kurath, 1957). These feasts were largely clan affairs, with invited guests. The January feast to the bear spirit was the most important. This survives among the Wisconsin Ojibwa (Casagrande, 1952); till recently it survived among the Menomini (Skinner, 1915, p. 213) and among the Delaware resident at Six Nations Reserve, Canada (Speck, 1945). However, the largest annual festival of late winter coincided with the tapping of maple trees. Groups of families and, at times, many tribes assembled for medicine, ghost, and pleasure dances well into the 19th century. The Iroquois accepted a Thanks to the Maple as a secondary feast, featuring a dance of the springtime Passenger Pigeon (Fenton, 1936 and 1955). They retain it at Newtown and Tonawanda longhouses. The Cherokee never tapped maples and never had a corresponding feast.

During the Maple Sugar Festival children with birchbark or hide masks went on begging processions, which survive in the New Year "bojuing" of the Catholic Ottawa in Michigan.[2] Huron men and women went on begging processions (Fenton 1941, p. 413). Ritualistic features are variously combined. In the early 17th century the Huron identified the Oki, or shaman, with frenzy and fire juggling but not with masking. On the other hand, bear curers wore masking skins. Bear maskers appeared in association with hunchbacks and wooden maskers (Kinietz, 1940, pp. 75–79). Mandan shamans appeared in bear disguise (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 275–276, fig. 102). Through the 19th century Plains ritual clown societies enacted visions and boiling-water tricks, as the Pawnee Iruska, Dakota Heyoka, and Plains-Ojibwa Windigokan (Kurath, 1956 a, p. 110). Into the 20th century, the Oklahoma Delaware included in their fall Big House Ceremony a dance of Husk Faces and a hairy bear masker, mašing, guardian of wild animals and power for cure (Speck, 1931, p. 26).

The Cherokee Boogers included a bear mask, in line with the Huron custom, and other animals, comparable to Algonquian beggars and modern Iroquois beggars. They exhibited obscene and phallic be-

[2] The term "bojuing," as instance of acculturation, derives from the custom of shaking hands and saying "Boju!" or "hello" from French "bonjour" (Ettawageshik, MS.)

havior, like the Plains clowns and societies of the Southwest, the Zuni Koyemshi and Yaqui Chapayekas. The men and women also did an unmasked dance, like the Iroquois, but not to cure. The Boogers did not form a ritual society, like the Iroquois and Plains groups.

The successive solos of the Boogers add up to a collective performance; yet they tend toward the Southeastern custom of isolated masked figures. The Seminole remember a now extinct masked Old Man Dance (Sturtevant, 1954, p. 59). Historic Muskogeans were not mask minded. But prehistoric sites have unearthed former masks in the Southeast—shell masks in Virginia, wooden faces and copper longnoses in the Lower Mississippi (Griffin, ed., 1952, fig. 23F, fig. 136H and U.) [3] Bear dances are rare and of the unmasked, social variety, as the Choctaw Bear Dance (Densmore, 1943 a, p. 41).

The Iroquois show a uniquely taut organization and structure of events, unique figures like the Husk Faces, and original plastic forms. Yet they by no means stand isolated. In the maze of relationships one can ask whether the analogies point to southwestern or to northern provenience, or to independent origin (Fenton, 1941, p. 405). This is too knotty a question for the present, especially in view of the universality of the ritual features, in various combinations. However, one can seek a clue in the musical form. The songs do not resemble those of Southwestern maskers. The Booger songs tend toward Algonquian style, the False Face songs toward northern, even boreal style (Example 1).

Both sets of Bear Dance songs in all their originality follow an Algonquian trend, though both sets have a brief passage of a southern feature, antiphony. They are unlike the Choctaw songs.

Available materials on other animal and winter dance songs line up the Iroquois with the Algonquian and Plains style of echo-unison, that is, statement by a leader, echo by a helper or helpers, and then unison.[4] For instance, the Buffalo Dance songs have this technique and the sequential descent of Wisconsin Chippewa Buffalo songs (Densmore, 1913, No. 99), and Fox Indian Buffalo songs. Indeed, the Iroquois and Fox choreographies are identical in the sideward tread and the about-face at the end of a verse (Examples 6 and 7). In contrast, the Cherokee songs seem to belong to the antiphonal tradition (Speck and Broom, 1951, pp. 71–72).

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[3] Sturtevant comments, "There is historical evidence (missed by Speck and Swanton) for gourd masks among the Creek—but nothing on their uses. Perhaps the wonderful wooden masks found at Key Marco might be mentioned also. Williams and Goggin (1956) have shown that the "long-nosed god mask" has a wide distribution in the Mississippi Valley (north to Wisconsin) and the Southeast in the Early Mississippi period."

[4] This technique is only in part a tribal earmark. It may be a matter of expediency, when a leader indicates a song in an arbitrary series.

The picturesque Eagle-Calumet and Victory dances fit into neither the Creek nor the Algonquian style, but pertain to the southern Plains (Fenton and Kurath, 1953). They entered the Algonquian repertoire even later than the Iroquoian, as part of the Pan-Indian show complex.

The northern Iroquois practice medicine, mortuary, and individual rites, which in the southern ceremonialism have been eclipsed by the Busk and in fact have been partly incorporated in this huge harvest festival. The Algonquians show much preoccupation with health and cure. Preoccupation with a death cult magnifies as one proceeds northwest (Spier, 1935, pp. 13, 16–17). In the trade of herbs for maize, the Algonquians may have transferred to the Huron the rites with the commodity (Waugh, 1916, pp. 5–6), though the Iroquois and Cherokee unquestionably had their own rich legacy of herb lore. The Seneca are supposed to have received the yéiʔto:s shamanistic ritual from the Huron (Parker, 1909, pp. 172–174). The objective, organization, and juggling features call to mind the Algonquian Wábano and Midéwiwin wizard rites (Hoffman, 1896, pp. 92, 99–103). But the archaic, undulating chants of the yéiʔto:s seem more akin to Eskimo angakok shamanistic songs (Examples 3 and 4), and to very old Menomini Hunting Medicine chants (Densmore, 1932, p. 59); while the songs of the Iroquois Little Water Medicine Society approach the style of the more complex Wábano and Midéwiwin (Barton, 1909, p. 247; Densmore, 1910, pp. 38, 80, 97, and others).[5] Perhaps yéiʔto:s and the oldest Fox Witch Medicine Dance represent a northern tradition, and the Algonquian rites a newer Great Lakes style; or, more likely, all have developed from a common northern source.

In addition to these male rituals, Iroquois ceremonialism includes a number of women's medicine dances, with singing by the women and male helpers. Though the dancing is also a simple tread, the songs are of the more elaborate, echo-unison type, with descending melodic sequence, like Algonquian songs (Kurath, MS., 1951.). The Dead Feast ʔohki:we:h, both as cure and memorial, may be related to the dirges of Ottawa women (Perrot *in* Blair, 1911, p. 179), and shines as a unique creative product. We will never know whether the Cherokee produced equivalent songs for the women's annual Medicine Dance (Gilbert, 1943, p. 265).

Today the Iroquois perform seven important mortuary rites, with procession (Condolence) or dancing (ʔohki:we:h and Tutelo Adoption), two of them from the Southeastern Siouans, the Tutelo (Kurath, 1954 a). Such rites remain prominent among the Menomini and Fox (Skinner, 1915, p. 212; Michelson, 1925, pp. 351–496; 1927, pp. 43 ff.).

[5] The Fox provide a further link, in the use of the flute, similar to the unusual flute in the Little Water ritual (Michelson, 1927, pp. 115–116; 1932, pp. 101, 149).

These were former Huron neighbors. In addition to tribal memorials, there are private wakes and restoration of a mourner, with an adoption rite. A November ghost feast survives as one of the few Ottawa seminative customs (Ettawageshik, MS.). In late prehistory the Huron and Ottawa shared a complex of periodic, huge secondary burial feasts, also smaller, domestic wakes with singing, dancing, noise making, pole climbing, dogs acrifice, and feast (Cadillac in Kinietz, 1940, pp. 283–284). Archeologists must decide whether these can be traced to the mound cults of the Ohio River valley.

Male performers dominate three of the Four Rituals which Handsome Lake perpetuated from existent traditions. Among these, the Drum, or Thanksgiving Dance (konéoɔʔ), fits into Algonquian ideology with its chants of thanksgiving to the pantheon, and it relates to the Western Great Lakes in song type and step. But the songs of the Great Feather Dance fit into the northern, boreal tradition, while the steps and turtle-rattle beat recall the northern Plains (Example 5, also Kurath, 1951, p. 125). Certainly it appears unrelated to the southeastern Creek Feather Dance or the Big Turtle Dance of the Yuchi (Speck, 1911, pp. 120, 125).

The individual chant or ʔatɔ:wɛʔ plays into the Midwinter dream guessing rite and into the Algonquian vision cult, the guardian spirit, the public recitation, and the singing of the warrior's special song in times of stress. Ottawa men of the 17th century chanted such songs in several warlike, even violent ceremonies (Cadillac *in* Kinietz, 1940, pp. 252–253, La Potherie *in* Blair, 1911, pp. 337–338). Eighteenth-century Iroquois men similarly marched and chanted in the Athonront, one of the identifiable rites described by Lafitau (1724, vol. 2, pp. 528–529). These singers and the recent Oklahoma Delaware used turtle rattles. In the Oklahoma Delaware Big House ceremony women could also recite visions during the Atehoumwin (Speck, 1931, pp. 56–58). ʔatɔ:wɛʔ has preserved the early tradition of group support by the male drone and female handclapping (Example 6). The various melodies tend sometimes toward the "boreal," sometimes toward the Algonquian type, the example fitting into the latter. The unusual feature of the drone appears among the northwestern Salish and the Fox (Michelson, 1928, p. 9; 1930, p. 18; 1932, p. 113). ʔatɔ:wɛʔ also plays into the ceremony of the thɔwi:sas, derived by legend from the Cherokee (Parker, 1909, p. 179). The modern Cherokee women have no recollection of such a ceremony. But the name thɔwi:sas resembles the Cherokee term for planting (Gilbert, 1943, p. 364).[6] The antiphonal songs and variously linear and circular plan, the box turtle rattle, may derive from the Cherokee women's Corn Dance (Kurath, 1952, p. 125). This female agricultural summer rite thus

[6] "Adanwisi" signifies "They are going to plant." Women plant, men hoe.

combines with the northern male tradition by the interpolation of the ʔatɔ:wɛʔ chants.

SOUTHERN FEATURES

Tribes neighboring the Cherokee marked the crises of life and illnesses with rites, formulas, and songs which usually involved an individual and the clairvoyant, but perhaps might also include family and helper (Densmore, 1953, pp. 440–441; this volume, Fogelson, p. 219). Minor hunting rituals were subordinated to the huge annual harvest festival, the July 7-day Busk; elements of medicine and hunting rites were incorporated in these celebrations by the entire community (Hewitt, 1939, pp. 50–53; Witthoft, 1949, pp. 52–70). The Florida Seminole, however, maintain a fall hunting ceremony (Capron, 1957).

First-fruit rites seem to have been ubiquitous from the Great Lakes to the Gulf Coast. They are listed in numerous accounts well into the 19th century (quotes in Witthoft, 1949, pp. 85–95; in Kurath, 1957, pp. 1–3). Sporadically they could celebrate a kill. Calendrically they celebrated the ripening of each plant food, varying with the climate and the distribution of species. Maple, wild rice, blueberry being essentially northern species were celebrated by first-fruits ceremonies; strawberry and raspberry festivals are widespread; corn, bean, and squash rites are essentially southern. The Algonquians distributed the thanksgivings through the summer, on the occasion of each ripening. By 1700 the Potawatomi and Ottawa had received maize from the Huron, the "granary of the Algonquians" (Charlevoix *in* Waugh, 1916, pp. 5–6). Possibly they had known it previously, and they cultivated it extensively in the 18th century. But the Great Lakes tribes did not develop a major corn ceremony. The northern Iroquois combined the northern and southern customs; they repeat food-spirit festivals throughout the summer and they concentrate efforts on a major green corn festival. The Cherokee followed the southern trend. They held a bean dance and a little and big corn ceremony (Speck and Broom, 1951, pp. 7–9, 45–53). The ceremonialism survives among the Florida Seminole, the Oklahoma Muskogeans, the Ketoowah Cherokee (with some Creek songs), as well as among the Cowskin Cayuga of Oklahoma. Despite many changes, the survivals do give some clue as to the southern features.

The distinctive features of the Cherokee Green Corn ceremony appear intensified among the Creek and Yuchi. They do not give thanks, but aim at propitiation of animal and plant spirits. Strong medicinal drinks serve purification. The initial segregation of men and women is spatially more pronounced. The mixed dances are

distinguished by antiphonal songs, with antiphonal, realistic gestures (Examples 7, 8). The counterclockwise circle often works into a meander or spiral, among the Seminole into a complicated, quadruple spiral, using each corner of the dance ground.[7] The Crazy Dance and Drunken Dance are more ribald than dilstí or yelulé (Speck, 1911, pp. 128–129). Rattle accompaniment is more prominent. The drum is limited to the Buffalo Dance. Women leaders jingle their shank rattles, now made of milk tins; men favor rattles of gourd or coconut shell (Sturtevant, 1954, p. 59).

According to available materials, the southern style is much more homogeneous than the northern. Speck's descriptions and texts indicate an antiphonal style for all but the Feather and Big Turtle dances (Speck, 1911). In Densmore's Choctaw and Seminole collections, this prevalence must be inferred from the structure. The short, answering phrases cannot be confused with the northern patterns. The Cherokee follow the southern type in perhaps half of the dance series, particularly in the summer dances and social dances, not at all in the winter rites, except for brief initial responses in Bear Dance. As already mentioned, the Iroquois use a variety of echo and response phrases. They have composed a witty and ingenious repertoire of songs resembling those of dilstí, with built-in melodic antiphony (Example 9), but they limit this to very few dance sets. Other northern tribes do not employ the melodic responses, except in recent borrowing for fun and shows. For these purposes they have composed their own "Snake Dance" tunes (Kurath, 1956 b). In Penobscot dances the antiphonal style seems more established and possibly more ancient. This outpost suggests former distribution of the southern pattern along the East Coast.

As a uniform choreographic type is associated with this musical type, the dance style is also more uniform in southern repertoires. The stomp, circling against the sun, prevails. This typifies the entire Woodlands, with regional variants. As a rule, the Southeastern dancers elaborate the basic pattern with gestures and with convolutions. This is so conspicuous as to suggest a connection between dance meanders and spirals, and decorations on prehistoric Gulf Coast artifacts (Griffin, ed., 1952, figs. 152, 170, 180, 182, and others). The Cherokee use these devices, somewhat less intensely and less exclusively; in Booger and Eagle Dance they depart from the basic pattern. The Iroquois have accumulated a larger variety of patterns, many of them clearly from western tribes; they depart radically from standard in the same dances as the Cherokee plus a few other war dance

[7] According to Sturtevant, "Seminole 'quadruple spiral' occurs only in the Snake Dance, which is the main dance at the fall Hunting Dance."

derivatives. Generally they fit exotic steps into the Woodland ground plan, instead of borrowing the sunwise circuit of the Western tribes.

FACTORS IN DIVERGENCE

The relationships refer to style, not to identities. The search has not unearthed a single song recurring exactly between northern and southern Iroquoians, or between Iroquoians and other tribes. It has shown many variations even between longhouses. It is obvious that a powerful creativity has reshaped intrusive forms, and, from generation to generation, modified traditional forms (especially in less sacrosanct dances). The creativity has been compounded with factors of time, new climate and economy, new cultural contacts, and a continuum of tribal genius.

Assuming greater divergence with greater time depth, it is possible to shove back the northern-oriented winter rites into remote prehistory, perhaps previous to original separation, and in this category to assume more recent contacts for the animal than the masked dances. The greater similarity of the summer dance songs plus the fact of their association with agriculture, places the diffusion of the antiphonal dances into more recent prehistory; and the very similar yelulé songs in the historic recent period, possibly the 18th century.[8]

The geographical location and the climate featured in the remolding of the respective ceremonial patterns. While the Cherokee belonged to the southern agricultural area, despite the altitude, the Iroquois shared in the warm-weather maize complex, as well as the cold weather hunting complex. To an extent different fauna dominated the dance repertoires. The climate also affected the choreography in a direct way, because southern warmth would encourage outdoor dancing in large squares, and the cold northern winters confined the dancers to the oblong precincts of the longhouse.[9]

The climate facilitated ritual acceptance from the adjacent tribes with a culture already adjusted to the surroundings. The Cherokee could be impressed by the Busk, the Iroquois by the medicine and mortuary rites of their neighbors, and the corresponding song and dance types. The southern antiphonal patterns can be readily distinguished from the non-antiphonal northern songs, along with choreographic variants. Ecology may also be a factor in the prominence of the Cherokee bear complex, for bears abound in the cool mountain forests of the southern Appalachians.

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[8] See Fenton on 18th century ritual transfers, this volume, p. 260.

[9] Here other factors weigh besides weather. The Iroquois processions may take place in the winter, and the summer feasts are mostly indoors. Also, social structure determines circuits around two fires vs. one.

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The Cherokee and Iroquois not only faced new surroundings, but they reacted differently to the influences. The northern Iroquois have organized their procedures into precise patterns, with a double duality of moiety and sex. They have toned down frenzy and ribaldry, while preserving spontaneity and humor. They show their talent for group activity in the dance structures, and their systematic genius in the neatly devised songs.[10] The Cherokee were by no means deficient in a sense of structure and organization, but they distinguished themselves in dramatic gesture and geometric pattern. The two groups molded native heritage and importations and emphasized different features in the masked harvest and other ceremonies.

Toward the most recent influences from Europe they also reacted differently. The Iroquois, though friendly to ideas from other Indians, proved aggressive toward White encroachments. They adjusted their religion to White economy and ideology and emphasized male-dominated rites, as shown by Wallace in his discussion of Handsome Lake reforms. Yet they did not mix Christian hymnody and native song, and they made limited use of modern scales and English texts. The Cherokee combined conservatism with maleability (Gulick, 1958, p. 27). They did not readjust ceremonialism nor mix musical styles, except for Cherokee texts to hymns.

In summary, the northern and southern relatives shared a substratum of northerly winter rites and southern influences on summer rites, also a widespread Woodland dance type. They diverged because of different climates, neighbors, and tribal personalities. The Cherokee took over Southeastern customs and styles, the Iroquois accepted and recreated many Algonquian, Plains, even boreal traits. They diverged most conspicuously in the adjustment to alien ways from Europe.

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[10] See Fenton's comments on tribal genius, this volume, pp. 260–265.

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NOTES ON MUSICAL EXAMPLES

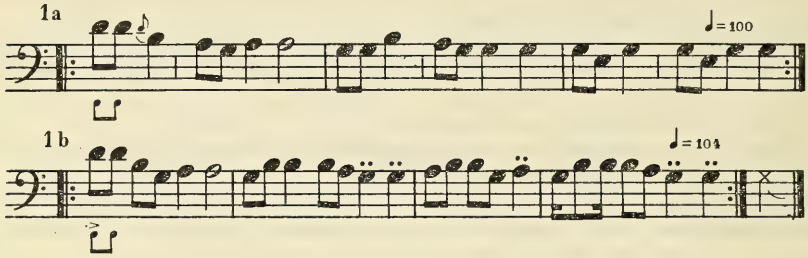
For comparative purposes, the examples are based on a scale of 5 3 1, that is, fifth, third, and tonic, with one exception. There are many songs with the basic scale, 54 21, like the Creek Buffalo Dance. More important than the basic tonality is the manipulation of the tones and their scope. Examples 2, 3, and 4 represent the "northern" style and an ancient tradition, in their undulating contour, small compass, 3 and 4 in their rhapsodic form. Examples 1a and 1b tend toward this style, 1b adding the second of the scale and 1a also the lower sixth, making chained thirds. The strikingly similar theme is in 1a treated in a mild form of descending sequence. Example 5, which has the scant skeleton tonality, develops in a distinct sequence. This may be termed the Algonquian style.

Examples 6a and 6b have the same tonal material as 1a, and develop this in a descending and rising sequence, rather freely in the latter part. In Wisconsin Indian songs the sequence is more strict and pronounced. These two songs use the echo-unison technique, in stating and repeating the first phrase. These Buffalo songs contrast with that of the Creek, Example 7.

Examples 7, 8, and 9 clearly represent another style, the southern type, with short, antiphonal phrases. Examples 8b and 9b have the same scale as Example 1b, but entirely different treatment. The monotone introduction by leaders is typical. Ensuing songs can become quite complex. Many show the "rise" in the second part, thus the reverse of the Algonquian contour.

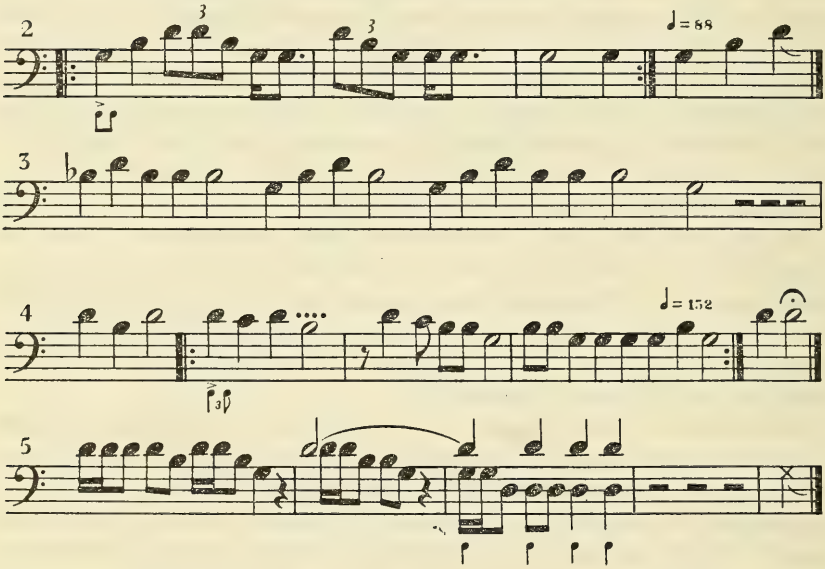
Examples 10a and 10b resemble 6a and 6b, particularly 6b, in the echo-unison pattern, sequential treatment of the first two phrases,

and generally descending trend, They suggest recency in the full scales with semitone, 10b being diatonic and 10a lacking only the second. All of the Bean Dance songs show the elaborate development and length of the rising and falling second half. They conclude with a call which is typically southern. They represent an original Iroquois creative product, utilizing features of several styles.



Example 1a. Cherokee Booger song for Wildcat Mask.
Singer Will West Long, recording by Lucas Moser, courtesy John Gillespie. Drum.
Text—yuwehe yuwehona (no meaning).

Example 1b. Iroquois False Face song for Ashes Strewing and Rubbing.
Singer Joshua Buck, Six Nations Cayuga, coll. Fenton, 1941.
Text—weni heya wene. hoi.
Rhythmic turtle-shell rattle accompaniment.



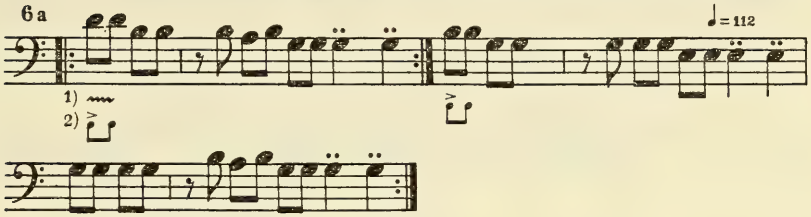
Example 2. Onondaga yéiʔto:s song No. 33, for appearance of Masker.
Singer Joseph Logan, Six Nations Reserve, coll. Fenton, 1941.
Text—he he hone yai. he he gwahe.

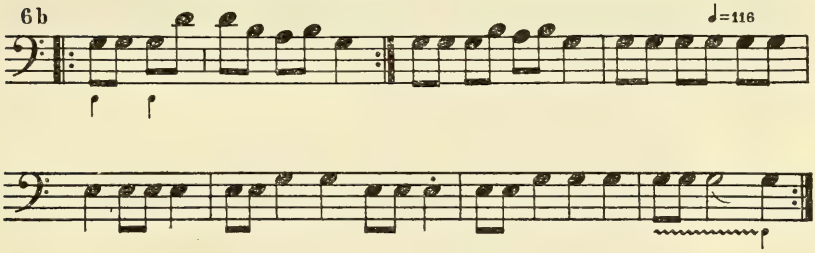
Compare Nitinat songs of Medicine Man (Densmore, 1943 b, esp. 12).
Rhythmic gourd rattle beat for dance step, alternate tremolo.

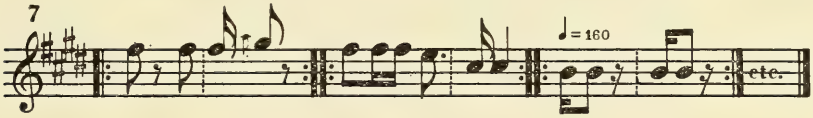
Example 3. Eskimo *angakok* song (Thuren, 1923, p. 73).

Example 4. Seneca Great Feather Dance (ʔostówæʔko:wa:h) song, No. 20.
Singer Chancey J. John, Coldspring longhouse, coll. Fenton, 1941.
Text—yoyoyo. jothayani gadakenondjes dewahačino sendadye.
yoyo[11] 'wolf runs along the rim of the gully.'
Turtle-shell rattle for dance step, variously duple, triple, slow, fast.

Example 5. Seneca ʔatɔ:wɛʔ chant, interpolated in thɔwi:sas ceremony.
Singer Richard J. John, Coldspring, coll. Fenton, 1948.
Text—hayowane hayowanehe.
Accompaniment, meas. 2 sustained call men, 3 ff. clapping women, rhythmic drone "heʔ, heʔ" by men, with singer's tread.







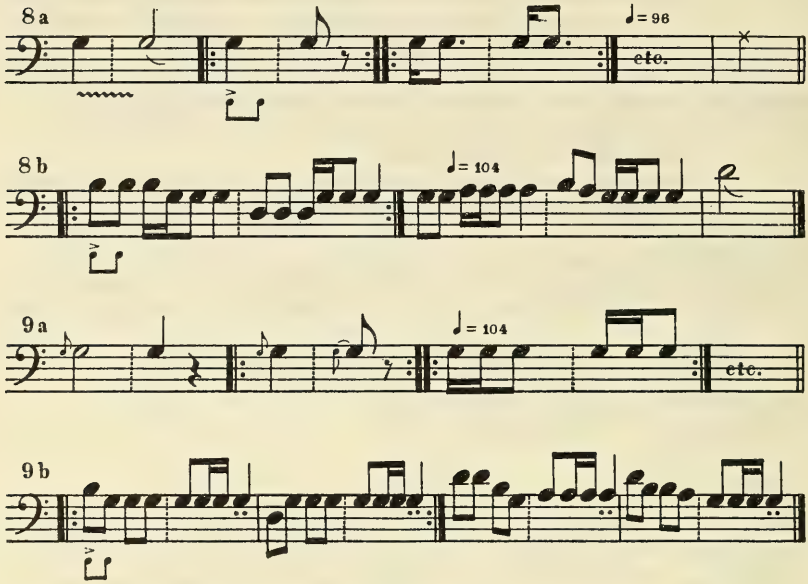
Example 6a. Cayuga Buffalo Dance song.
Singers Deskaheh and Willie John, coll. Kurath, 1950, assisted J. Raben.
Text—yogiwando hanendo heyane
Cf. renderings by Henry Red Eye (Coldspring), coll. Fenton, 1933, C. J. John 1941.
Drum and horn rattle.

Example 6b. Fox (Meskwaki) Buffalo-head Dance song.
Singer Wilson Roberts, Tama, Iowa, coll. Kurath, 1952.
Text—netadamega wenisa. yawiya.
he feeds me the fierce one.

[11] The names, but not the texts, of the Seneca songs in Examples 4 and 5 have been written in Chafe's phonemic orthography. The names of Examples 2 and 9a are also in Seneca.—The Editors.

Example 7. Excerpts from Creek Buffalo Dance. (Speck, 1911, pp. 168–169.)
Antiphonal texts—yoyo *wiho.* heyolena *hele.*
(Response indicated by semidivision here, but not in Sapir version).

For comparative notation of Iroquois and Cherokee Bear Dance, see Kurath, 1951, fig. 3.



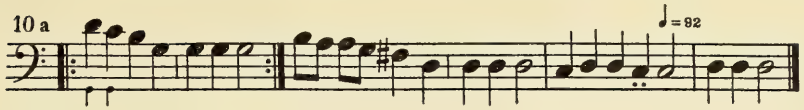
Example 8a. Cherokee introduction to *dilstí.*
Singer Carl Standing Deer, coll. Kurath, 1953.
Antiphonal text—ho *ho.* hau *hi.* wehe *hahe.* yoho.

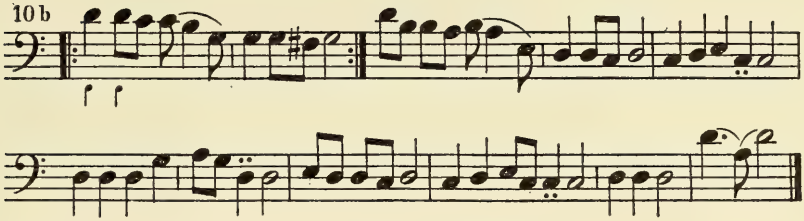
Example 8b. Dilstí song, same singer and collection.
Text—heyohanawiye *heyohanawiye.* yoho.
Gourd rattle accompaniment, pulsating for stomp step.

Example 9a. Typical introduction to Iroquois kaʔta:syo:t trot. No percussion.
Singers Joshua Buck and Simeon Gibson, coll. Fenton, 1941, Huron Miller, coll. Kurath, 1952. These are from Six Nations Reserve, but versions from Allegany, as Ed. Curry's, are similar.
Text—yoyo *hi.* hahi *hahi.* ha'ahe *ha'ahe.* yu *yu.*

Example 9b. Garters Dance song. Horn rattle.
Singers George Buck and Ed Styres (Six Nations Reserve), coll. Fenton, 1945.
Text—gayowani *yaheyahe*

For example of Seneca thowi:sas song, see Kurath, 1952, fig. 1.





Example 10a. Cherokee song from yelulé Beginning Dance.
Coll. Frank G. Speck, deposited Archives Indiana University, copy through exchange and courtesy John Gillespie.
Text—adyelule

Example 10b. Onondaga Hand-in-hand or Bean Dance song.
Singers Joseph Logan and Scottie Hill, Six Nations Reserve, coll. Kurath, 1952.
Same tune rendered by George Buck (Six Nations Reserve), Ed. Curry (Coldspring) and others.
Text—wiya yo wiya yo. wiya yo hawine hoyane, etc. we'eyo.
Rattle plied by leader.

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No. 19. Comment on Gertrude P. Kurath's "Effects of Environment on Cherokee-Iroquois Ceremonialism, Music, and Dance"

By WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

COMMENT ON GERTRUDE P. KURATH'S "EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENT ON CHEROKEE-IROQUOIS CEREMONIALISM, MUSIC, AND DANCE"

By William C. Sturtevant
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It is evident that detailed musicological comparison is a rewarding historical method, since music is like language in being sufficiently complex and arbitrary so that genetic similarities can be distinguished with little difficulty from chance similarities—i.e., it is relatively easy to separate homology from analogy. Mrs. Kurath has demonstrated the utility of this method, in this and other papers. Her comparisons of Iroquois music with Algonquian and Cherokee have yielded interesting conclusions, and she is now beginning to bring Muskogean music into the comparisons.

My objections in the following paragraphs are not to Mrs. Kurath's identifications of homologies in music, but to her decisions as to whether these homologies are due to diffusion or common inheritance, and if diffused, to the direction of diffusion assumed—in these areas musicological comparison is on much shakier ground than linguistic comparison.

Mrs. Kurath has characterized two styles in both music and dance in eastern North America: a northern ("boreal," "Algonquian") one and a southern ("Muskogean") one. Toward the end of her paper she implies that Iroquois northern traits and Cherokee southern traits are both borrowed from their neighbors, thus evidently assuming that both peoples are intrusive (contrary to the archeological evidence presented in other papers in this volume). Elsewhere, she derives several of the specific northern traits among the Iroquois from borrowings from the Algonquians, sometimes suggesting that the Huron may have been intermediaries in this process. However, some such Iroquois traits (curing rites; masked dancing), she implies, are due to common inheritance from remote prehistory; and with this she evidently includes the Cherokee masked dancing, although noting the occurrence of masks elsewhere in the Southeast. Fenton (this volume, p. 263) sees "little connection between Cherokee and Iroquois

maskers," and Mrs. Kurath's musicological comparison (her examples 1a and 1b) is more convincing than her discussion of resemblances in function, behavior, and choreography. Other instances of Cherokee-Iroquois similarities, Mrs. Kurath implies, are due to some special historical relationship between the two groups (šelu-Oa. Corn Dance; dilstí-kaʔta:syo:t; Corn Dance-thɔwi:sas), but she usually does not choose between common inheritance and diffusion except in her summary statement to the effect that "summer dance songs" diffused south to north.

A real difficulty with all this is the absence of records for groups intervening between the Iroquois and the Cherokee, and for New England Algonquians, as Mrs. Kurath hints. We may be comparing two representatives of a large area with many common cultural traits and a complex history of invention, reciprocating modifications, diffusion in many different directions, and complicated migrations. If we knew something of aboriginal coastal and New England Algonquian, Shawnee, and eastern Siouan music and dance, we might be less ready to interpret Iroquois and Cherokee similarities and differences. It seems possible that some of the "Algonquian" traits represent borrowings from the northern fringe of a great and ancient agricultural area. I am dubious of Mrs. Kurath's implied division of musical and choreographic traits into a preagricultural stratum with survivals among northern Algonquians, versus a later agricultural stratum typified by the Muskogeans—agriculture is so ancient in the northeast (going back at least a thousand years in New York, according to Ritchie, this volume, p. 31) that musical and choreographic resemblances due to common inheritance from the Archaic period seem unlikely.

As an instance of the historical complexities which probably exist, examination of the thɔwi:sas in somewhat more detail is instructive. Mrs. Kurath evidently sees the names, functions, melodies, choreography, and rattles of the thɔwi:sas and the Cherokee Corn Dance as a trait complex, probably diffused from south to north. According to Speck and Broom (1951, p. 79) Cherokee t.tã́ni:wisĩ:ˋ, 'they are going to plant corn,' was the term used for the annual occasion on which the Corn Dance was performed. F. G. Lounsbury tells me that the translation of the Cherokee appears to be accurate, while W. L. Chafe says that thɔwi:sas is an unanalyzable form in Seneca. This is good evidence that the Seneca term was borrowed from the Cherokee. Parker's (1909, p. 179) account of the traditional origin of the Seneca rite, cited by Kurath, is ambiguous, but Curtin collected a Seneca story (in Mooney, 1900, pp. 365–367) according to which the rite was introduced by escaped Seneca captives of the Cherokee. The evidence seems clear. However, the history of the box turtle

rattle used at the thɔwi:sas is less certain. Among the Seneca, this instrument, a single handleless shell held in the hand, is restricted to this one ceremony. All the shells are imported, since the box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*) does not occur in Iroquois territory (Conklin and Sturtevant, 1953, pp. 283–284; Conant, 1958, p. 317). Box turtle rattles are common in the Southeast, although normally they have holes drilled in the carapace (as the modern Seneca ones do not), and at least in the ethnographic period they usually have been attached in quantity to leather squares worn on the lower legs by women dancers. New York and Ontario archeological specimens (Ritchie, 1954, p. 64; Bleakney, 1958) usually have holes, like the southern specimens, and the box turtle is not known to occur today in any of the regions where they have been found. The four Ontario examples identified by Bleakney are not dated by him, but at least three of them come from historic or protohistoric sites (Wintemberg, 1931, p. 120; 1946, pp. 154, 170). However, the New York examples occur as early as Archaic times, when they can hardly have been associated with an agricultural rite like thɔwi:sas and the Cherokee Corn Dance. Ritchie suggests that the box turtle rattle may have been more generally used by the Seneca in early times, but "was supplanted by the snapping turtle shell rattle [I would say "by other rattle forms," since the snapping turtle rattle has quite specialized functions.—WCS] sometime in the 18th century in response to the growing scarcity of the box turtle in the Seneca country." Bleakney states that there is no evidence for the natural occurrence of the box turtle in Ontario, at any time in the past—this is considerably north of the present range—and suggests that the archeological examples found there were traded in. John M. Legler, a herpetologist specializing in this genus (to whom I am indebted also for the Bleakney reference), informs me (in lit. December 30, 1958) as follows:

> To my knowledge there is no direct fossil evidence that box turtles ever occurred in the parts of central New York listed in your letter [the archeological occurrences]. The known distribution of fossil *T. carolina* (and closely related forms), like that of many other turtles, was more extensive than the present distribution. I consider it not improbable that *T. carolina* once occurred in central New York . . . the maps [in Conant, 1958] do not take into consideration the very good possibility that *T. carolina* does occur more extensively (albeit rarely) in New York. Suitable habitats exist from Rochester eastward to Albany and in the Finger Lakes region; it would not surprise me if populations were found in these areas (this is my own opinion, possibly not shared by others). In any case, the localities you mentioned are so close to the known range of *T. carolina* that acquisition of specimens by trading would be a fairly simple matter.

I conclude that these rattles were used by the ancestors of the Iroquois before they adopted the thɔwi:sas, and need not be interpreted as an introduction from the Southeast.

The Bear Dance is an instance in which further comparisons would be useful. Here Mrs. Kurath implies original "kinship" of the Cherokee and Iroquois forms, with a "long divergence" of functions; she does not explicitly choose between common inheritance and diffusion, but suggests that a greater frequency of bears in the Cherokee mountain habitat may account for the "prominence of the Cherokee bear complex." But David H. Johnson, a mammalogist at the U.S. National Museum, tells me that there is no reason to suppose that the North American black bear was more common in cooler (or more northern) areas than elsewhere—say the Creek region. Mrs. Kurath has examined the Choctaw Bear Dance and found it to differ significantly from the Iroquois and Cherokee Bear Dances. However, there are other Bear Dances in the Southeast which should also be compared: Hitchiti, Alabama (Swanton, 1928, pp. 523, 524, 527); Seminole (Sturtevant, MS. a); and Catawba (Speck, 1939, pp. 47–49, 54–55; Sturtevant, MS. b).

Mrs. Kurath implies that concern with curing is a northern trait whose prominence among the Iroquois is an ancient matter, or perhaps in some respects a result of borrowings from the Algonquians. But there is evidence for a general shift in the functions of Iroquois ceremonies in historic times, with the declining importance in Iroquois culture of warfare, hunting, and lately farming. These were the previous foci of Iroquois ceremonialism, and many anachronistic traces still remain. But curing is now of overriding importance, probably due at least partly to increasing health problems with increasing European contacts. The shift in function can be documented for various Iroquois ceremonies; Fenton and Kurath (1953) have nicely proved the shift of the Eagle Dance from use in war and peace to curing; a similar shift can be shown for ceremonial friendship; the traditional origins of the Little Water Medicine and other modern curing societies also indicate shifts from charms and rites for hunting or warfare, to charms and rites for curing (Sturtevant, MS. c).

Mrs. Kurath has noted the Iroquois tendency to borrow songs. I would emphasize this, and suggest that if we had as lively musical traditions surviving among other groups in the East, we might find this to be a common attitude, and would perhaps be more cautious in reconstructing the musical history of the East. The modern Iroquois are great singers, and they admire exotic songs. Borrowed songs and dances are gradually converted from more social to more sacred uses. Among the certain borrowings are the following: the thɔwi: sas; the Eagle Dance, shown by Fenton and Kurath to have diffused to the Iroquois in the Colonial Period; the War Dance, which today has ceremonial associations with agriculture and curing, that is known in Seneca as wasa:se?, the Seneca name for the Sioux from whom

Morgan (1954, vol. 1, p. 258) says it was adopted, and which has Plains-style music and dance steps; the Delaware skin-beating dance (kanestɔkǽ:ʔe:ʔ) and several Tutelo ceremonies; the Alligator Dance, which from its name is certainly of southern origin and which in fact shows strong resemblances to the Seminole Alligator Dance in choreography, overall verse structure, some of the meaningless syllables, and part of the melody (Sturtevant, MS. a; Densmore, 1956, pp. 92–95; compare the Tuskegee Creek Alligator Dance song, transcribed in Speck, 1911, pp. 166–167); a dance known to the Seneca by their name for the Cherokee (ʔoyataʔké: aʔ), which has reached them from Oklahoma within the last 25 years and is still only a social dance; the Sioux Rabbit Dance, which reached the New York Seneca from the West (via the Canadian Iroquois) only in 1956–1958 but promises to be a very popular social dance; and even some Euroamerican songs which have been incorporated in the vast repertoire of ʔɛ́:skæ : nye:ʔ or Women's Dance songs—"Redwing," "Barney Google," and "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" are among these last (Sturtevant, MS. c). Another instance may be the Stomp or Trotting Dance (kaʔta:syo:t), which Morgan (1954, vol. 1, p. 278) marked as "of foreign origin"; Kurath (present volume, and 1951, pp. 128–131) has pointed out its similarities to various Southeastern dances and implies that it reached the Iroquois from the south. Mrs. Kurath's paper in the present volume suggests several more possible Iroquois borrowings, mostly from northern Algonquians, but the most probable instance being the Bean Dance from the Cherokee yelule.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 20. The Iroquois Fortunetellers and Their Conservative Influence

By ANNEMARIE SHIMONY

THE IROQUOIS FORTUNETELLERS AND THEIR CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE

By Annemarie Shimony
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A number of traditional institutions remain important in the life of the conservative Iroquois at Six Nations Reserve, among them the calendric observances of the Longhouse, the Handsome Lake religion, and the system of hereditary chieftainship. But no institutionalized aspect of culture so dominates his thought and actions as does the complex concerning personal health. "Health," as it is currently conceived at Six Nations, includes not only physical well-being, but also the maintenance of life, mental ease, and good luck. Each person believes that these are constantly threatened and that he must therefore determine the nature of the threat, engage in various precautions, and take countermeasures throughout his lifetime. Indeed, the belief that his health is constantly endangered is so central a tenet of the life view of the modern Longhouse member that overtly and covertly it motivates much of his behavior and provides the sanctions for retaining others of the conservative institutions.

A common method of determining the etiology and cure of a disease is to consult a fortuneteller or clairvoyant. These are individuals who claim to be able to fathom the cause of diseases—whether due to physiological disorder, neglected cultural prescriptions, hunting charms, or witchcraft—and who incidentally, but importantly, prescribe cures. Both sexes may practice fortunetelling, and there are no particular prerequisites for the profession, though an individual who is born with a caul and who then takes up fortunetelling is antecedently well qualified. Primarily it is believed that the ability to tell fortunes (i.e., to diagnose diseases and prescribe their cures) is an inalienable endowment from the Great Creator, just as is the ability to speak or sing, although there are instances in which a fortuneteller is said to have learned his art from an "old man" or "old woman." Also, if one has the initial gift, there is no reason why one may not add to one's knowledge, and some informants think that fortunetellers actually "practice." There are strong sanctions against attempting fortunetelling without being gifted, and if one asks an

average person whether he had ever considered telling fortunes, he looks shocked and says that he does not have the gift and that it is "too dangerous to fool around with."

Some of the practitioners are more highly regarded than their colleagues, and the Longhouse population distinguishes critically among the currently practicing fortunetellers. Patients claim that they can tell "real fortunetellers from fakes" and that they can also appraise their effectiveness. With time each fortuneteller acquires a reputation, as do the herbal doctors, and he becomes renowned either for overall competence or for a particular line of investigation, such as interpreting dreams, identifying witches who are causing a malady, or remembering "unsatisfied" rituals or ritual articles. Since many of the patients' complaints are psychosomatic, the reputation of a fortuneteller can in fact help to effect a cure, which in turn augments the reputation.

The procedure of having one's fortune told is extremely simple. The patient or his emissary (in case the patient himself is incapacitated or otherwise unable to go) visits the home of the fortuneteller, unannounced and usually in secret, at any time of the day. He enters, informs the fortuneteller of his Indian name, offers him Indian tobacco, and states his problem in as much detail as desirable, giving circumstances, particulars of previous treatments, and other information. He then sits down and awaits an answer. The fees, aside from the Indian tobacco, usually run between 25 and 50 cents, but the medicines which the fortunetellers often obligingly prescribe as essential to recovery must be bought from them for up to $60.

The general pattern of diagnosis and prescription is quite loose, and each fortuneteller has his own style, so that the profession may correctly be described as an art. Thus, the technique of diagnosis usually involves tea, cards, dreams, or scrying, but the individual fortuneteller may choose to employ any one or a combination of these. There are, furthermore, a few patterned responses to characteristic symptoms, such as False-Face Rites for facial paralysis, red False-Face Rites for nosebleeding, Otter Rites for sore red eyes, Bear Rites for hysteria involving spitting or clambering along the walls, making friends for "lonely" children, snowsnake or ball games for sore legs, Little Water for internal injuries or broken bones, etc.; yet in essence each consultation with a fortuneteller is a special case. The fortuneteller is told the symptoms, and he prescribes measures which he considers appropriate, by virtue of his own special gift or knowledge. If the symptoms unequivocally point to a standard cure, such as the ones mentioned, the fortuneteller usually prescribes the expected remedy, but even then he is at liberty to explain that for the particular client and under the particular circumstances, a different cure would

be preferable. In other words, the institution of fortunetelling is today a highly unstructured and individualistic one.

There are, however, a few generalizations which seem to characterize the institution of fortunetelling. First of all, the fortunetellers generally conceive of themselves as proponents of the "Indian" culture, and therefore their prescriptions are almost always in terms of elements taken from the traditional culture. Secondly, fortunetellers themselves are well versed in the mores of the Longhouse society, and they make diagnoses and prescribe cures which seem reasonable and plausible to the Longhouse population. Thus, if a person complains of a minor ailment, the fortuneteller is apt to "see" a minor remedy rather than a particular causative agent. If the ailment is lingering and the client obviously very much concerned, the fortuneteller will most probably "see" a definite reason (a neglected medicine society feast; an unsatisfied, "hungry" member of the family who had died long ago but failed to receive proper treatment at the 10-day feast; a mask which was not given tobacco; a broken taboo, such as contact with a menstruating woman while preparing an herbal tea; etc.) and will prescribe a more complicated and expensive remedy. In short, he endeavors "to make the punishment fit the crime." Thirdly, the fortuneteller tries to appraise the personal background and predicament of his patient (and some of the old fortunetellers have good memories) and suggest, often by indirection, that definite events in the family of the patient have caused the difficulty. The patient thinks about the diagnosis and is indeed reminded of the suggested event. Also, a fortuneteller would never, or only under such extreme conditions as repeated witchcraft, prescribe a cure which is economically completely out of the reach of the patient. Such a prescription would not seem plausible to the patient and would not be considered good fortunetelling, thus tending to discredit the specialist. Fortuneteller B—, for example, is accused of prescribing expensive feasts "because he likes to eat good things," and his business has fallen off sharply.

Finally, the method of the fortuneteller seems to draw heavily upon the principles of analogy, reenactment, and association. For example, Y— "wriggled like a fish with pain" when he had sciatica, and the fortuneteller prescribed that he have an Otter Feast, for there one eats fish, and furthermore the otter is in constant motion like the patient. When Z— dreamed of lines of caskets and skeletons who all claimed to be hungry, a Dead Feast was immediately prescribed to feed the dead. And when K— (who was undoubtedly hungry) dreamed of a white chicken, the fortuneteller prescribed an Eagle Dance, since an Eagle Dance involves the use of a white chicken.

The cure prescribed by the fortuneteller may be any standard ritual song, dance, game, feast, medicine society rite, or one of the four sacred rites, and he may prescibe more than one of these. Also he may prescribe herbal medicine, friendship formation, a Tutelo ceremony, or the Little Water medicine, or he may even invent a new procedure which he believes appropriate to the situation, including the prescription of "white man's medicine." The reasons for choosing the particular remedy, aside from conformance to the few generalizations observed above, are purely psychological and idiosyncratic. Thus, there is not at Six Nations today a well-established body of specific Indian cures for specific ailments, as has been suggested in the literature;[1] at most there are correlations between cures and a few important symptoms, and even these are not invariable.[2] The same must be said for causes of diseases and ill luck; except when the trouble is of the sort generally acknowledged to fall within the domain of a medicine society, it is at the discretion of the fortuneteller to cite the cause.

If the cure prescribed has a ritual character, the patient is obligated for the remainder of his life to repeat the rite at intervals of 1 to 3 years, for otherwise he will run the risk either of a recurrent attack of the disease or of a new disease. This is particularly true if the prescription was to initiate the patient into a medicine society. Once initiated and once cured, the patient must reciprocate to the tutelary or Spirit Force of the society out of thankfulness for his initial cure, and he must also observe the rules of the society, in order to avoid "hurting the feelings" of the society tutelaries or artifacts. It is easy to see how an individual might easily acquire a large number of ritual obligations of this type, and how one might lead to involvement in another. Consequently, a fortuneteller who "digs up the past" too avidly (i.e., finds many unsatisfied rituals in the family of the patient) is rather feared, since no one enjoys assuming more obligations than absolutely necessary.

Since the population is for many reasons generally hypochondriac, and since consultation with the fortuneteller is often a last desperate measure, a good fortuneteller is soon believed indispensable and is highly respected for his specialty. Also, the fact that he operates by virtue of a supernatural gift or highly specialized knowledge inexplicable to the uninitiated, and has frequent contact with malevolent

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[1] E.g., F. G. Speck, "Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House." Philadelphia. 1949.

[2] This statement on the relation between specific ailment and cure is in need of support. Apparently most tribes have specific herbs for specific ailments—the Papago, Ottawa, Cherokee (see Fogelson, this bulletin, p. 217). Since Iroquoian investigators report connections between rite and disease, and since Mrs. Shimony found this no longer operative, there must be a reason for this difference in findings.—G.P.K. My less intensive work on this topic among the Seneca at Cattaraugus and Allegany tends to support Mrs. Shimony's assertion. Her phrase "well-established body" should be noted; compared to the situation among the Seminole, which I know at first hand, and my impression from the literature on other Eastern tribes, modern Iroquois diagnosis and treatment are relatively variable and unsystematized.—W.C.S.

forces, puts him in a position of particular authority. It would be presumptuous indeed, if not "dangerous," to doubt and ignore his prescriptions. "A fortuneteller told me to do X" is the unquestioned justification for doing X. For these reasons the fortuneteller today has a unique and important position in the Longhouse culture, and he is able to direct a large segment of the lives of the individual members. His prescriptions always involve elements from the "Indian" (Longhouse) culture, and even though he sometimes introduces innovations, these are always variations of standard patterns. Consequently, the overall influence of the fortunetellers is strongly conservative, and, indeed, more than any other personnel they maintain the conservatism of the Reserve.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 21. Change, Persistence, and Accommodation in Cherokee Medico-Magical Beliefs

By RAYMOND D. FOGELSON

CHANGE, PERSISTENCE, AND ACCOMMODATION IN CHEROKEE MEDICO-MAGICAL BELIEFS [1]

By Raymond D. Fogelson
University of Pennsylvania

The acculturation of the Eastern Cherokee must be considered atypical when compared to the general model of acculturation for most North American Indian groups. Continuous first-hand contact with Euro-American culture increased in intensity, except for brief periods of war, during the century prior to the forced removal to the Indian Territory in 1838. During this period, a loose confederation of scattered villages adhering to an aboriginal culture was rapidly transformed into a cohesive nation which was viewed by others, and viewed itself, as civilized. A few hundred Cherokee of conservative background, who had been marginal to the efflorescence that had taken place in the southern part of their nation, escaped the general removal and remained behind in the wilderness of the Great Smoky Mountains. This group, ancestral to the present Eastern Cherokee, was left to reassemble the pieces of a broken culture. The Eastern Band remained fairly isolated from the main currents of white civilization until the early years of the 20th century, when their encapsulation began to be penetrated by modern communication. This geographic isolation allowed the stabilization of a new cultural Gestalt comprised of remnants of the older Cherokee culture now blended into a general mountain-white pattern. Thus, while acculturation is taking place at a rapid pace today among the Eastern Cherokee, for the most part, the most realistic baseline from which to plot current culture change is the period of cultural resynthesis that occurred during the mid-19th century.[2]

[1] Fieldwork was carried out during the summers of 1957 and 1958 under the auspices of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina: John Gulick, director. The writer wishes to offer grateful acknowledgment to the Department of Anthropology, Univ. of Pennsylvania, for financial assistance. The writer also wishes to express his indebtedness to John Atkins, Dr. A. I. Hallowell, Charles Holzinger, Paul Kutsche, Robert Thomas, Dr. A. F. C. Wallace, and John Witthoft for helpful advice and criticism.

[2] This period would seem to correspond to the onset of what Witthoft (this volume, pp. 74–76) has termed "Reservation culture."

One of the aspects of Cherokee culture that has been most resistant to change is the medico-magical practices of the conjuror. While it is generally assumed that the more covert aspects of culture embedded in a people's belief system are less likely to change than overt items are, such as material culture, the survival of Cherokee medico-magical beliefs and practices has been aided by a special mechanism—the Sequoyah syllabary. Although Sequoyah's invention (1821) was popularly hailed as a tool of "progress" enabling the Cherokee to publish their own newspaper, laws, and constitution, as well as to translate the Bible, hymnals, and other religious tracts, the syllabary was also a powerful instrument for cultural retention. The conjuror was now able to transcribe into his notebook sacred formulas and other lore that had formerly been dependent on oral transmission (Mooney, 1891, p. 308).

In aboriginal times, Cherokee medico-magical beliefs were mediated through a stratified priestly organization. With the nearly complete conversion of the Nation to Christianity, nominally at least, during the first third of the 19th century, conjurors became the repositories of the remaining fragments of what was once a quite complex aborignal religious system. In response to the passing of the older religion and the breakup of the priestly societies, individual practitioners tended to focus their attention on more secular matters, such as curing, sorcery, and hunting-fishing and agricultural magic.

Cherokee medical and magical practices were probably rather pragmatic and flexible prior to the Removal. If a new herbal remedy was discovered or a new ceremony devised, it was probably easily incorporated into the conjuror's repertory. While many American Indian groups had definite notions of supernatural power in their ritual and vision quests, a clearly defined power concept was not so conspicuous among the Cherokee. Throughout their history, there was a decided disinclination to set oneself above one's fellows, and the presence of prophets was a rare phenomenon.[3] Ceremonialism and, in fact, much of Cherokee personality, seems oriented toward harmony with nature through knowledge and control, rather than through blind supplication (Thomas, MS., 1958).

This pragmatic outlook can be clearly seen in a myth accounting for the origin of disease and medicine. According to the myth, man once lived in harmony with the rest of creation, and disease was unknown. Because of man's inhumanity to the other living creatures through both design and carelessness, each animal group held a separate council and decided to inflict on mankind a different disease.

[3] The Redbird Smith movement differs from the typical prophet-led revitalization movement, as Thomas (this volume, pp. 165–166) has pointed out. The disinclination to set oneself above one's fellows has been noted by Gearing (MS., 1956) in 18th-century Cherokee political behavior.

The plant kingdom took pity on man and promised assistance in counteracting the animal-sent evils (Mooney, 1900, pp. 250–252). The myth implies that there is a plant antidote for every disease; through knowledge one is able to select the appropriate remedy. Most native medical practitioners are able to identify as many as two hundred different plant species and varieties. However, if the emergency is sufficiently grave, one need not be a specialist, for it is said that any man can walk into a field and the appropriate plant will reveal itself by nodding.

Medico-magical beliefs and practices seem to have assumed a more rigid, doctrinaire quality among the surviving Eastern Cherokee. The Removal separated the remaining Cherokee from most of the creative and spiritual leadership of the Nation. Among the 18,000 or so who emigrated West were most of the highly esteemed medicine men, as well as other guardians and interpreters of traditional belief. The shock of removal and the separation from the main body of their Nation, eventuated in some culture loss, but also resulted in a more compulsive adherence to those items of medico-magical belief which remained.

The syllabary enabled the Eastern Cherokee to set down and retain much esoteric knowledge, but this new device seems to have affected medical and magical practices by discouraging some of the flexible empiricism hypothesized for the earlier conjuring. Writing down prayers, incantations, and formulas gave these items a certain tangibility that grew into reverence. The conjuror's notebook became imbued with some of the same sacredness surrounding the Christian Bible. The antiquity and conservative nature of the formulas are well verified by the many now unintelligible archaic expressions, many of which were encountered by Mooney as early as 1887 (1891, p. 309). Also, conjurors feel that a formula must be recited perfectly or the ceremony will be ineffective; slips of the tongue are thought to be caused by the machinations of a rival. Formulas are jealously guarded, and often the titles of more important ones are disguised or transcribed in an idiosyncratic shorthand, lest the books fall into the wrong hands. These factors, plus the relative isolation and absence of acculturative stimuli during most of the 19th century, tended to make conjuring practices tradition bound and highly stylized. Only with the intensive culture contact of the past 25 years have Cherokee medico-magical practices begun to undergo major accommodative modifications necessary for limited survival in a changing society.

The lines of medico-magical specialization are not tightly drawn, but some general distinctions can be made. Conjuring has become almost a male specialty, although women specialists have been known in the past, and even today a few of the older women know many herb-

al remedies and a few ceremonies. None of the current practitioners are full-time specialists, and all derive their principal incomes from other sources. It is important to distinguish herbalists from conjurors. The herbalist may prescribe, dispense, or administer simples, but his treatment is rarely accompanied by a ceremony. Since knowledge of herbal remedies diffused widely throughout the population, the distinction between the laity and a herbalist rests mainly on a quantitative basis. A conjuror, in contrast, relies on a combination of simples and ceremony in his curing procedures.

To become a conjuror, one must possess a thorough knowledge of plants and competence in the Sequoyah syllabary. At present, with less than 10 percent of the population literate in their own language, this latter prerequisite assumes increased importance in the selection of conjurors. In addition, one must gain the confidence of an older practitioner and persuade him to give instruction. Conjurors are not eager to part with their knowledge, so that the disciple must possess special personal qualifications and aptitude. Information is imparted in Socratic fashion, and no tuition is expected. Instruction usually begins with the recognition of plants and their properties, soon proceeds to the commoner formulas, and ends with ceremonies for sorcery, provided the candidate shows promise of not abusing such knowledge (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 100). The stock-in-trade of a conjuror is his body of formulas, which are gradually obtained throughout his lifetime by inheritance, borrowing, trading, or purchase.

Some hint of a previous age-grading among practitioners still persists. Although one may receive some instruction as a young adult and practice on a modest scale, such activities are generally kept secret. If you become boastful and arrogant, another older and more knowing conjuror may "spoil" your work. After about 55 years of age, "when your hair gets gray," a conjuror is less afraid of censure and can declare himself more openly. It is reasoned that when your hair has turned gray, you have "proved yourself and followed what they said, and nobody can walk over you or tear up your ceremonies and ruin things." Even when one has passed this crisis, boastfulness is still devalued. One should not set himself above others and should never promise that he can do more than try to "lift up" his patient.

Within the general area of conjuring, there are many subspecializations. For instance, some practitioners are noted for their ability to cure gastric illnesses, while others are known to specialize in "Dalâni" ("yellowness," usually manifested around the eyes) diseases. Other nonmedical specialties include such things as ball game conjuring, love magic, divination for lost objects, and many others. The late Will West Long, despite his profound philosophic knowledge

of conjuring, had little success in curing illnesses (Witthoft, 1948, p. 358). One of my informants explains Will's failure as an example of knowing too much and not concentrating enough on any one specialty.

Today's conjurors are not organized into any sort of society. Each plies his craft secretly and alone. Relations between conjurors tend to be very circumspect and abrupt. Very seldom does one conjuror have a good word to say about another. While no practitioner will openly admit to practicing sorcery, he is quick to attribute such skills to a rival. Occasionally conjurors will trade formulas, but only after each has felt the other out, and an equitable exchange has been negotiated. Rivalry becomes most intense during the Indian ball games which are felt to be primarily contests between rival conjurors with the players as mere pawns.

The conjuror's clientele are drawn for the most part from the conservative segment of the population. Since the building of a modern agency hospital a number of years ago, the conjuror's curing services are less in demand than previously. Many Cherokee still have faith in native medicine and hire a practitioner while, at the same time, going to the hospital to insure receiving help from one quarter or the other. The opening of the Great Smoky National Park brought many tourists to the reservation. Among some of these tourists, a belief in the efficacy of Indian medicine persists from frontier days, when Indian medicine was not very inferior to that practiced by whites. A few of these tourists seek out conjurors for medical advice. More often than not their problems concern cases considered incurable by white medicine, as spastic children, sterility, and congenital defects. A few conjurors have traveled far from the reservation at the invitation of white clients. One man has a regular circuit of white clients whom he visits, sometimes for a few months at a time.

Mooney states that formerly conjurors received a deerskin or a pair of moccasins for their services, but that in 1887, a quantity of cloth, a garment, or a handkerchief became media of exchange (Mooney, 1891, p. 337). Cloth was regarded not as pay, but rather as a necessary instrument in extracting the disease spirit. Today the donation of cloth for use in ceremonies still continues but is slowly giving way to monetary remuneration. It was formerly thought that receiving money would dissipate the conjuror's skills. The conjurors make a slight concession to tradition by not demanding payment or setting any fixed fee. Instead, the conjuror accepts whatever sum the client feels his work is worth and considers the payment as a gratuity.

As far as can be ascertained, all of today's conjurors consider themselves to be good Christians and feel that their work is completely consistent with Christian doctrine. The importance of faith and the

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power of prayer are fully recognized by the conjuror. According to one informant:

> When I conjure, I go by the word of God . . . In ceremonies, I use the name of the Lord. When somebody's sick, you take him to the creek, wash his face by dipping with your hand, and wet his breast by the heart. It's like the spirit gives strength, like Baptism. He can feel it. If somebody's lost, it's up to the Creator to point the way. Sort of like in prayer. If it wasn't in the power of the Creator, you couldn't make anything move . . .

Here, the ancient Cherokee rite of "going to the water" is neatly reconciled with Christianity. Another statement by a different informant emphasizes the conjuror's belief in a heavenly power superior to his own:

> You can't overpower the Lord. If I fail, it means [the patient is] too far gone—already on that receiving line that's ready to be called away. If a grass ain't meant to help somebody, it will wither like frost before your eyes.

The close rapport between Christianity and conjuring does not seem to be a recent event, since much of Mooney's best material came from persons who combined the profession of native doctor with Sunday school preacher, as "Anâli" (the Rev. Black Fox, Esq.). The local brand of Christianity in which faith healing plays a prominent part has also helped to strengthen the bond between the two systems of thought.

To recapitulate, the written formulas are the core of Cherokee medico-magical beliefs and help maintain continuity with the past. It is interesting to note that while a great many written prayers and instructions survive verbatim, the interpretation of these formulas and some of the underlying assumptions of the Cherokee theory of disease have undergone some modification. The writer, in 1958, collected a formula identical in translation to one published by Mooney (1891, pp. 353–355). Mooney's informant said that the formula was used for frightened children, "when something is causing something to eat them." In the 1958 version, the formula is employed when "anyone takes faint or when his heart stops," without specific reference to children. The formula successively mentions and banishes a screech owl, a hoot owl, a rabbit, and a mountain sprite (one of the "Little People"). Mooney explains that the disease is caused by these four disease spirits literally gnawing the vitals of the patient. The interpretation of a present-day conjuror differs markedly: the cause of the disease is a weak heart or "high pressure blood." The specific spirits are chosen because they are frightening—especially the rabbit who, when touched, "jumps up and scares you." Nowhere in the later interpretation is there any notion of evil disease

spirits gnawing at the patient's vitals, but the disease cause is given a western-sounding explanation.

The incomplete assimilation of white medical beliefs into the Cherokee system can be illustrated by many other examples. The diseases mentioned in some formulas are now simply believed to be colds caught after getting wet. Sore throats are said to be caused by an excess of "frame" (phlegm). The "dalâni" diseases are now attributed to the actions of the "goldstones" (gallstones). In some instances, the older Cherokee belief and modern white disease theory show some accidental correspondence and provide reinforcement for the Cherokee belief. The Cherokee anticipated the microbe theory in their notion that swellings were caused by minute microorganisms, "voluntary worms" ("tsgâya"), which decided to hold a subcutaneous council (Mooney, 1891, p. 361).

Among conservative Cherokee, some opposition to white medicine still persists. In the historic past, the Cherokee felt that epidemics were special diseases invented by Europeans to exterminate the Indian. Cherokee medicine was ineffective and, in some cases, as with smallpox, detrimental in treating these diseases. Possibly as a result, the Cherokee developed a belief in the ethnospecificity of disease and treatment. White medicine might work for whites but was no good for Indians. This notion seems to have been generalized along tribal lines also, for one of the current practitioners is accused of having learned his medicine from some Dakota Indians during World War II, and it is thought that Dakota medicine was not meant for Cherokee. Some of this provincialism has broken down recently, and most conjurors grudgingly admit the hospital has superior techniques for treating some diseases. However, the native practitioners are quick to find fault with the hospital and can cite numerous instances in which the hospital "gave up" on illnesses which were later successfully treated by native doctors.

The conflict between Cherokee and white medical theory can be illustrated by a specific example. In the words of one informant:

> Kidney trouble hurts Indians. Something juicy on the vine like a peach or a watermelon, the Indian doctor says no [i.e. forbids a person with a kidney disorder to eat such fruit]. Doctors here in the hospital give orange juice and grapefruit, and it makes you worse—hurts. . . . Anything that swells up, you shouldn't take juice, only something dry or heavy . . . .

The taboo on juicy foods is also invoked in cases of slow-healing sores. Implicit in this and most other Cherokee medico-magical beliefs is an underlying principle of natural analogy, in this case the idea of dehydration and absorption, with no appreciation for the healthful effects of vitamin C.

In general, the impact of Western medicine on Cherokee theory and practice can be seen to involve partial assimilation, the accentuation of differences where the two theories are irreconcilable, and an overall feeling that the two systems are complementary, rather than fundamentally contradictory.

The remainder of this report will survey briefly current change, persistence, and accommodation in the nonmedical functions of the conjuror.

Hunting and fishing magic were formerly of considerable importance to the Cherokee, but now, with the disappearance of many game animals, much hunting and fishing lore has been forgotten. In the past, elaborate ritual and dancing frequently preceded and followed the hunt. Formulas were recited and imitative masks of the pursued animals were employed for the prehunt ceremonies, as well as for the actual stalking (Speck and Broom, 1951, pp. 84–96). Mooney was able to collect only four hunting formulas and one fishing formula during his stay among the Eastern Cherokee in 1887 (Mooney, 1891, pp. 369–375). Olbrechts has noted that in the past bear-hunting songs sometimes were purchased for as much as $5 (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 153), but during the stay of Speck and Broom (circa 1937) owners of hunting formulas did not consider them "worth holding as personal, secret property" (Speck and Broom, 1951, p. 95). Today no hunting or fishing formulas remain, and all that can be recovered are odd bits of hunting and fishing lore that are not necessarily of Cherokee derivation.

Agricultural magic, once an important part of the major religious ceremonies, has also largely disappeared. Some small vestiges still remain. In one field of corn, ax blades were placed on short poles facing the cardinal directions, as I was told, "to break up the thunderheads" of an approaching storm. Once at the dinner table, a conjuror refused to eat sweet corn, because it was too early in the season, and if he ate some, he would be unable to break up dangerous thunderstorms.

Many forms of divination still persist. In the past, the "ulûnsata," a quartz crystal used to predict the future, was one of the most sacred Cherokee religious objects. These objects have disappeared, but many informants reverently recall the fulfilled predictions of airplanes, automobiles, and railroad trains envisioned by the "old men" of bygone days while looking into the stone. Dreams were formerly considered disease agents, the actual mechanisms for transmitting the illness, but are now considered as omens. Nevertheless, a man who dreams of being bitten by a snake should be treated as if he actually had been bitten. There is a belief that the manifest dream content will be inevitably fulfilled, but the intervention of a conjuror may

succeed in delaying the prophecy or "moving it over." Thus, in the case of a person who dreams of a death in his family, the conjuror may be able to forestall such an event by "moving it" down the river to another settlement.

Rolling the beads is still a widely practiced form of divination. The beads, formerly small seeds—now largely replaced by glass beads—are of three colors: red and white, symbolic of victory or success, and black, indicative of defeat or death. The red or white bead is held between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand and the black bead held similarly in the left hand. In diagnosing a person's illness, it is felt that the patient will recover if the right-hand bead shows more activity, while greater activity by the black bead is a bad omen. If the answer is unfavorable, the beads can be rolled again, but the procedure can be repeated only a fixed number of times. The beads can also be used to answer direct "yes or no" questions and are important in ball game divination.[4] Other surviving forms of divination include the use of an arrowhead suspended on a crossbar to point out the direction of lost objects and a variety of interpretations of natural phenomena to predict certain events.

Various forms of sorcery are known and practiced. Witchcraft is greatly feared and elaborate ceremonies are undertaken to counteract the malicious efforts of a witch. A witch can get to his victim directly through metamorphosis or, more often, indirectly by dispatching disease spirits. A knowledgeable conjuror can dispel these spirits and return them to the sender by recourse to the proper ceremony. One type of witch is particularly fond of attacking people in a weakened condition, so that the slightest illness is considered a serious affair. No one will confess to being a witch or to practicing sorcery, but it is said that a witch can be recognized because he (or she) will never look anyone in the eye. Also dogs are felt to be particularly keen in detecting witches. The actual amount of sorcery practiced on the reservation today is probably slight, but its presence as a psychological reality accounts for a great deal of interpersonal hostility and a means for channeling aggression.

Cherokee love magic has not received the attention it deserves in published sources (e.g., Mooney, 1891, pp. 375–384, and Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 154–155). One informant gave a vivid description of the process. According to his account—

A man would fast alone in the woods for seven days. His only nourishment came from herbal teas, and hunger pangs were pacified by swallowed saliva. A conjuror took the man for daily baths in a "branch" and "put water over his head," while reciting love conjurations. When the man returned to the "road" (i.e. back

[4] Much ball game ceremonialism persists today. The writer hopes to treat this subject in detail at a later time.

to civilization), the desired woman against whom the ceremonies were directed would seek him out, wander after him, and "crave him." She wouldn't eat anything. If she got hungry, "she'd just bend over and eat dirt and think it was bread—she'd really crave that man."

Besides the oral symbolism which also abounds in Cherokee love formulas,[5] this account points up another prevalent motif in love attraction formulas. Before the desired end—the love of a particular woman—is achieved, the woman must be degraded. Although it is not always necessary to make her stoop to geophagy, the incantation should at least "render the woman blue [symbolic of trouble or distress], let her be completely veiled in loneliness . . . and bring her down," as one of Mooney's formulas implores (Mooney, 1891, p. 376). Before it is possible to gain a woman's love, she must be made unattractive to other suitors. Thus, love attraction rites may be viewed as a type of sorcery in which one of the objects is to bring misfortune upon another person.

In the case of a spurned suitor, he may lose any positive feeling for the woman and only wish to "bring her down" out of motives for revenge. She can be made unattractive to all others and be smitten with irrational love toward the spurned suitor, in which case he can have the satisfaction of unsympathetically observing her plight and repulsing her uncontrolled advances. Other forms of love magic include formulas for breaking up a match by a jealous third party, bringing back a straying husband or wife, and preventive magic against disruption of marital bliss.

Many other forms of sorcery, closely related to love magic, are conceptualized by the phrase "twisting their minds." Although this can include making a person insane, it does not always have an evil connotation. Such magic can be used to transform a former enemy into a friend. More often, such formulas are used to produce temporary confusion or compliance from another to gain a specific end. This notion is implied in many of the ball game formulas which strive to keep the opposing players from seeing the ball, or to turn the enemies' minds from the anticipated joy of victory ("making them loose their grasp on the stakes").

This type of magic serves a new function on the reservation today. Conjurors are frequently employed by Cherokee involved in legal difficulties. It is felt that certain ceremonies have the power to influence a judge's decision and lighten the sentence. One particular case will illustrate:

A man was killed in Big Cove about 20 years ago by two young Cherokee. A conjuror took a personal interest in the case, because one of the defendants had been raised in his household. Bail was raised, and the conjuror assured his client

[5] Holzinger (this volume, pp. 232–234) has stressed the oral dependent nature of Cherokee personality.

that he would be cleared of charges, if he followed instructions. The boy was taken to the creek daily and the conjuror performed many ceremonies to place the entire guilt on the other boy. On the day of the trial, the conjuror was certain his ceremonies were working and even predicted that the other boy would never return to Big Cove alive. The court met several days before the conjuror's client turned state's witness and was released. The other boy drew a sentence of 15 years in the penitentiary. Ironically, he died 9 days before his scheduled release from prison, thus fulfilling the conjuror's prophecy.

It has been argued here that the large amount of Cherokee medico-magical knowledge that persists today can be accounted for by the presence of a written language and historical events which left the Eastern Cherokee isolated for the greater part of the 19th century. Some bodies of lore, as hunting and fishing magic, have disappeared because of shifting economic patterns and changes in the local ecology. More recently, increased contact with white culture has brought about changes and accommodation in the medico-magical belief system. Since the formulas survive verbatim these changes have occurred in interpretation, emphasis, and application. Although conjuring seems to be a declining art, it would be rash to predict its immediate demise, since the evidence presented indicates that the underlying belief system is able to absorb many shocks and reintegrate successfully.

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No. 22. Some Observations on the Persistence of Aboriginal Cherokee Personality Traits

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CHEROKEE PERSONALITY TRAITS

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The apparent persistence of certain basic personality traits in a number of North American Indian tribes from aboriginal times to the present has given rise to a search for explanations. It was Hallowell in 1946 who first forcefully called attention to this persistence in his now classic paper, "Some Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indian." In that paper he documented a remarkable correspondence between the emotional structure of Northeastern American Indian groups as described by early travelers, missionaries, and traders, and that which he himself had observed among the Behrens River Salteaux, an Ojibwa group. The outstanding trait involved in this similarity was one which Hallowell has called "a multifaceted pattern of emotional restraint or inhibition." Perhaps the most striking facet in this pattern was the suppression of any expression of hostility in interpersonal relations. Other components of this personality structure were: (1) a high valuation of independence and a resentment of authority, with a complementary hesitancy to command others; (2) a wariness and cautiousness in approach to both human and nonhuman aspects of the environment; and (3) a distinct reluctance to refuse requests made either implicitly or explicitly.

These findings for the Salteaux were corroborated or concurred in by other students of the Ojibwa (or Chippewa): Barnouw (1950), Caudill (1949), Friedl (1956), and Boggs (1958). Fenton (1948), in reviewing the symposium which carried Hallowell's paper, equated Seneca and Six Nations personality traits; and Wallace (1951, 1952) found the same thing to be true for the Tuscarora of New York State.

Because Salteaux culture was in many respects little changed from aboriginal patterns, Hallowell did not at first find it remarkable that basic personality patterns seemed likewise unchanged. He concluded that "the connection between this psychological pattern and cultural conditions of which it is a function are fairly clear" (Hallowell, 1955, p. 144). Later, as the result of having found the same personality structure in more acculturated Ojibwa groups, Hallowell con-

cluded that personality must be more stable than other aspects of culture, such as subsistence patterns, kinship systems, etc., and he concluded that a considerable degree of acculturation could occur without any radical change in personality structure (ibid., p. 335).

A number of other explanations were advanced to explain this persistence. Barnouw ascribed the striking historical continuity of personality to the fact that "Chippewa acculturation resulted in no disorganization of social structure, no change in the nature of interpersonal relationships. The long apprenticeship with the trader, so to speak, served to induct the Chippewa gradually into their present place in the western world" (Barnouw, 1950, p. 65).

Friedl (1956, p. 823) believed the persistence was due to a translation of a cultural experience of continuous change extending back into aboriginal times into a personality trait of a deep underlying feeling of impermanence that reflected itself in the "detailed, practical, and uncreative approach to problems."

While not attempting an explanation of his own, Boggs (1958, p. 54) concluded after a study of parent-child interaction patterns that the persistence of Ojibwa personality cannot be attributed to unchanging patterns of parental care for children.

It is the intention to explore in this paper whether materials gathered in fieldwork with the Eastern Band of the Cherokee in North Carolina may shed any light on this problem.[1] First, let it be said that an examination of the historical accounts of the Cherokee by 18th-century travelers, traders, missionaries, and administrators clearly reveals that the traits found by Hallowell to characterize Indians of the Northeast hold true also for the Cherokee (cf. Adair, 1775; Bartram, 1791; Evans, 1708; Hawkins, 1796–1800; Lawson, 1714; Meigs, 1796–1807; Timberlake, 1765). What is more, these accounts present a rather striking documentation of the similarity between the personality traits described for the late 18th century and those found in fieldwork with the Cherokee of Big Cove today: the obligatory hospitality and sharing, the impassivity—reflected in accounts of encounters where no greetings were exchanged—the refusal or unwillingness to contradict, the love of punning and other kinds of word play, the absence of gestures in public speaking, the reticence to assume authority roles, and a host of others. In all of the accounts examined, there were only two discordant notes with regard to these traits of individual character; both of these were recorded by Bartram.

[1] The fieldwork on which this paper is based was conducted in the community of Big Cove during the summers of 1956, 1957, and 1958 under the auspices of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory of the University of North Carolina under the direction of Dr. John Gulick.

In one passage Bartram (1791, p. 289) tells of observing from concealment a group of Cherokee virgins disporting themselves in gay play while picking wild strawberries. On the approach of Bartram and a companion, "they confidently discovered themselves and decently advanced to meet us, half unveiling their blooming faces, incarnated with the modest maiden blush, and with native innocence and cheerfulness presented their little baskets, merrily telling us their fruit was ripe and sound." On the other occasion, Bartram describes being discovered while lunching alone in an isolated spot in the mountains by a young Indian who was hunting, and who was as surprised as he, but who, after exchanging greetings, proceeded on his way, "singing as he went" (Bartram, 1791, p. 293).

The more recent visitor to the Cherokee is not likely to be met by advancing friendly maidens, or by departing singing huntsmen.

There is another note, of perhaps more subtle nature, struck in the writings of Adair, Timberlake, Hawkins, Meigs, and also found in the later Payne-Buttrick papers, which seems to point to a much profounder discontinuity than the improbable scenes described by Bartram. These writers make repeated allusions to the joyous character of the various major ceremonial occasions of the Cherokee. While the note is not usually one of unrestrained exuberance, one gets an impression of deeply emotionally satisfying experiences on the part of the participants in the annual round of Cherokee ceremonies long ago. Perhaps it is simply because there are no longer comparable ceremonial occasions of this sort that the modern observer feels the lack of emotional satisfactions among the Cherokee today. If the traditional ceremonies are missing from contemporary Cherokee life, other forms of social gathering are not. The Cherokee eagerly seek such occasions as church meetings, ball games, and pie socials. But the observer of these occasions does not get the impression of real participation, much less of deep enjoyment; on the contrary, the Cherokee remain essentially passive spectators. They seem almost driven to attend these gatherings, not for the enjoyment in participation but for the gratification that comes simply from reaffirming that others are not actively hostile to them. This reassurance is usually but not always forthcoming; for church services, especially, sometimes become the scene of occasional fights or near-fights, usually among the women.

The accounts of the earlier writers also reflect a dramatic contrast in social organization and integration. Some allowance must certainly be made for "idealization" in the writings of these observers. Even after allowing for this, however, one is struck in their writings by the tightly knit social organization of the Cherokee community, symbolized by the centrally located townhouse and dance grounds. The formalized patterns of authority, the complex social stratification, the

community-supported priesthood, and the common storehouse used during the festival season bespeak a social integration now almost completely lacking. Corporate groups do exist today, such as the free labor societies, the Christmas clubs, the ball teams, and church congregations. None of these knit up the community as a whole, however, and their memberships are continuously shifting ones as new realinements take place as the result of real or imagined slights, jealousies, recriminations, and the all-pervasive suspiciousness that invades at times even the nuclear family.

This atomism so apparent today would seem to belie the earlier assertion of a close correspondence between aboriginal personality traits and those seen today. Formerly the Cherokee seemed bound up in a set of complex and durable interpersonal relationships which brought him satisfactions and relief from certain impulses; whereas today, social relationships are fragile and are marked by undertones of suspicion and hostility that seem almost to eliminate gratification from them.

A closer look at the personalities of Big Cove Cherokee today provides a possible explanation for this seeming contradiction. For while certain basic lineaments of the aboriginal character continue to persist, the social context in which they are expressed has undergone profound transformation, and with this change in context have come alterations in the expression of these underlying traits. The Cherokee of Big Cove today typically show traits of passivity, apathy, suspiciousness, and dependency that would in the event of the removal of all outside sources of support seem to make even their biological survival questionable. These traits can be seen as the neurotic warping of the underlying character structure. In the aboriginal personality, the anxieties which precipitate these neurotic tendencies were absent, although the tendencies themselves were latently present. With the removal of certain supports, they are today expressed.

What was, and is, this basic Cherokee personality structure? Its most significant feature is a fixation at the period of oral dependency in infancy and early childhood. We know that persons who, as a result of early experiences, have developed an orally dependent character respond to anxiety-producing frustrations later in life in a depressive way, showing the traits of apathy, passivity, and dependence. The frustrations which are particularly effective in producing this state of neurotic depression are those involving a loss of self-esteem. The fieldwork data show that child-rearing patterns among the Cherokee of Big Cove today would produce strong anxieties in the expression of aggressive and dependency feelings, or, to put it another way, establish certain fixations in the period of oral dependency.

Cherokee children today are nursed whenever they show any restlessness, whether this be caused by hunger or not. The breast is the great pacifier; for example, the child burning his foot on a hot stove is comforted by being put immediately to the breast. The child knows no regular rhythm of hunger and satiation, as he is nursed whenever he is fussy, and released as soon as his restlessness ceases.

Women do not seem to enjoy the nursing experience particularly. Moreover, they often display real ambivalence toward their children. There are occasions during the nursing period when the mother seems to be seductively warm and affectionate; but more frequently, her handling seems, rather, dictated by a desire to keep to a minimum the child's intrusions on her attention.

The time and manner of weaning show rather great variation in the Big Cove of today. In a large number of cases, however, it tends to be abrupt when it does occur. It may occur owing to the temporary or prolonged absence of the mother, or to the start of a new pregnancy, or to an arbitrary decision of the mother, which she may make because the baby bites her or because to continue nursing him is inconvenient.

Usually, as long as the child is being nursed, the food supply is dependable. With weaning, or sometimes even before, many children experience massive deprivation of food. Some of this deprivation is simply the result of erratic food supplies available to the family. But probably in more cases, it is due to inconstancies on the part of the parents and/or of the siblings who are so frequently given responsibility for the young child. Thus the small child moves from a world of assured plenty into a world of caprice. Moreover, as there is no daily routine, he knows no regular cycles of sleeping, waking, and eating. Various deceptions are practiced on him so that the parents may gain temporary respite from his fretfulness.

The casual and weak emotional ties which frequently exist between mother and child are demonstrated in another way. Most Cherokee children spend extended periods of time in households other than the parental one. Some of these children have been "thrown away"—to grandparents or other relatives, when the mother who has borne them marries or remarries; or they have been given for adoption to relatives or even to unrelated members of the Cherokee community. A smaller but still sizable number of children themselves announce a preference to live with grandparents or other kin, and move from their parental household.

The father does not usually play an important role in socialization. He is frequently absent from the household, and he is usually not a regular provider. His behavior shows the same range of capriciousness shown by the mother, with his prevailing attitude perhaps one of indifference.

The frustrations in the satisfaction of nutritional and affectional needs which the small child experiences give rise to aggressive impulses, which, however, have to be repressed, since to bite the hand (or the breast) that feeds you is simply to bring on even greater deprivation. It seems reasonable to believe that Cherokee wariness and cautiousness, also, may be the result of these early experiences with the unpredictability of maternal and sibling nurturance.

This situation with its initial high security and nurturance shifts to one where indifference and caprice dominate, and it is from the anxiety generated by this change that are sown the seeds for later neurosis. However, the Indian child usually retains a relatively high degree of spontaneity and emotional response until he first confronts the demands of the white world in a major way. It is then that the neurotic regression to passivity and emotional indifference takes place. In Big Cove, the time of this withdrawal varies from child to child, varying with his own inner resources and the level of acculturation of his family. For the present generation, it occurs for some with their entrance into the white-value-dominated school in their 7th or 8th year; for others, it does not occur until puberty, with the realization that there are no vocational goals which yield satisfaction from the practice of traditional values. What happens is a failure in sources of enhancement of self-esteem. The child finds himself in a larger world where everything traditionally Indian is denigrated. There are no roles in either the white or Indian worlds which do not make him painfully aware of inferiority, for the traditional value system which stresses independence, generosity, and self-restraint itself becomes the source of conflict, since these values cannot find satisfying expression.

There are, furthermore, nowhere any approved outlets for his aggressive and dependency impulses. The evangelical Christianity which most Cherokee embrace today is more threatening than reassuring, and the rewards it holds out to the believer are not those of daily succorance. Aggressive impulses still remain to a large extent repressed by older males, and escape usually only as they did in aboriginal times, with the assistance of alcohol. With Cherokee women and younger men, the controls are weaker. For all, however, the dependency longings push for expression. But despite this, there is no greater willingness to accept authority.

For people caught in such a conflict, and possessing such a complex of predisposing traits as the result of early childhood experiences, the only solution is withdrawal into apathy.

How can this picture of contemporary Cherokee personality be reconciled with what we have said about the similarity to the basic lineaments of aboriginal Cherokee personality? If we ask what type

of early childhood experiences would lead to a personality marked by the inhibition of affectual expression, particularly hostility; by a characteristic wariness and even suspiciousness of others; by an inability to deny even implicit requests, and a resentment of authority, we would be led to anticipate childhood experiences very similar to those which have been described. There is one important difference, however. The same neurotic tendencies observable in Cherokee personality today were implicitly present aboriginally, but they were held in check by a value system which precisely buttressed the points of greatest latent weakness, and there were roles and a belief system in which these values could find satisfying expression. There was a high valuation placed upon independence and autonomy precisely because there were deep unconscious dependency longings. Generosity was highly valued because the basic character structure would lead individuals to be grasping and selfish. There were strong values relating to bravery and courage because the inner urges were to withdraw in the face of any threatening situation. And finally, there was strong valuation placed upon self-restraint because there were strong aggressive impulses.

Not only were the points of greatest latent weakness buttressed by these values, but there were external supports as well. Within the life and social organization of the Cherokee there were approved outlets for the release of aggressive impulses in war, in the joking relationships, and in certain ceremonial aspects; and patterned outlets existed also for the expression of dependency feelings. In addition, when self-esteem was threatened, the Cherokee had recourse to the reassurance of supernatural forces, whose benevolent assistance could be secured to help meet the anxieties of daily experience.

Hallowell has noted for the Ojibwa and Wallace for the Tuscarora that there seem to be strong anxiety-producing strains in the area of the expression of aggression and dependency in the modal personality of these cultures. If investigation with other Northeastern groups should show patterns of childhood experience similar to those found for the Cherokee of Big Cove, we would then have a common feature of implicit culture which would explain the widespread occurrence of a basically similar personality type in cultures of different subsistence base and social organization in the Northeast. It might also explain the remarkable similarity in personality of certain acculturated Indian groups of "transitional" status.

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Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture

No. 23. First Comment on Charles H. Holzinger's "Some Observations on the Persistence of Aboriginal Cherokee Personality Traits"

By DAVID LANDY

FIRST COMMENT ON CHARLES H. HOLZINGER'S "SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CHEROKEE PERSONALITY TRAITS"

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Holzinger's very interesting paper stimulates anew the perplexities that face the ethnologist who attempts to explain presumed persistence of behavioral or cultural phenomena. One may wonder at the traits which have been singled out as predominating in Cherokee personality: valuation of independence but expressed dependence; wariness in human and nonhuman relationships; reluctance to refuse demands of others; impassivity; obligatory hospitality. In particular Holzinger uses oral frustrations in child training to explain the apathy, passivity, and dependence of contemporary Cherokee.

Bartram, to whom Holzinger refers, knew the Cherokee intimately in the late 18th century and he has used the following adjectives to describe their character (Bartram, 1794, pp. 481 passim):

Air of magnanimity, superiority and independence;
Grave and steady;
Dignified, circumspect, slow and reserved, yet frank;
Cheerful and humane;
Secret, deliberate, and determined in their councils;
Honest, just, and liberal;
Ready to defend territory and rights with life itself;
Hospitable to strangers;
Considerate, loving, and affectionate to their wives;
Fond of their children;
Industrious, frugal, temperate, perservering, charitable, forbearing;
Fond of games and sports.

This list does not preclude the traits selected by Holzinger. It does suggest, however, that differences exist either in the outlook and perceptions of the 18th- and 20th-century observers, or objectively in Cherokee behavior, or both. It also suggests that human personality is too complex to be characterized by a few traits, even when these seem outstanding to the stranger within the gates. Bartram, as if to

illustrate that relative degree and intensity are important even among cultures whose bearers share similar behavior traits says: "The Muscogulges [Creeks] are more volatile, sprightly, and talkative than their Northern neighbors, the Cherokees." In contrast to Holzinger's characterization of "the all-pervasive suspiciousness that invades at times even the nuclear family," Bartram said: "I have been weeks and months amongst them and in their towns, and never observed the least sign of contention or wrangling; never saw an instance of an Indian beating his wife, or even reproving her in anger" (Bartram, 1794, p. 488). And he says respect and consideration, as well as affection, were as characteristic of the wife as of the husband.

It is not enough to say that Bartram's descriptions strike "discordant notes" in the harmonious consensus reached by other observers, thus hinting that Bartram's observations are less reliable. It requires the most painstaking kind of historiography to assess the relative reliability of these more ancient students of Indian life. And these earlier observers were themselves beset with the same kind of problem when they sought to harmonize their findings with those of others and were forced to explain apparent contradictory evidence. For example, Jonathan Carver, a Captain in the provincial troops, who returned to England to publish his "Travels through the Interior Parts of North America for More than Five Thousand Miles . . ." confines his "Concise Character of the Indians" to the more westerly tribes like the Chippewa, Winnebago, Sauk, and others, and states:

> That the Indians are of a cruel, revengeful, inexorable disposition, that they will watch whole days unmindful of the calls of nature, and make their way through pathless, almost unbounded woods, subsisting only on the scanty produce of them, to pursue and revenge themselves of an enemy; that they hear unmoved the piercing cries of such as unhappily fall into their hands, and receive a diabolical pleasure from the tortures they inflict on their prisoners, I readily grant; but let us look at the reverse of this terrifying picture, and we shall find them temperate both in their diet and potations (it must be remembered that I speak of those tribes who have little communication with Europeans), that they withstand, with unexampled patience, the attacks of hunger, or the inclemency of the seasons, and esteem the gratification of their appetites but as a secondary consideration.
>
> We shall likewise see them social and human to those whom they consider as their friends, and even to their adopted enemies; and ready to partake with them of the last morsel, or to risk their lives in their defence.
>
> In contradiction to the report of many other travellers all of which have been tinctured with prejudice, I can assert, not withstanding the apparent indifference with which an Indian meets his wife and children after a long absence, an indifference proceeding rather from custom than insensibility, he is not unmindful of the claims either of connubial or parental tenderness: . . . . [Carver, 1796, p. 269.]

Carver then proceeds to give what he feels is a balanced portrayal of Indian character. Like many others, this account suffers from a lumping together of all the tribes in the regions he covered, and we

may suspect that, far from being untainted, his particular prejudices have tinctured his own description. But he deserves an accolade for attempting to see the multitudinous complexity of human character and applying this principle to the study of supposedly "barbarian," as well as "civilized" behavior.

Obviously differences to some degree in character structure must have existed in various periods of Cherokee history. Thus, about a quarter of a century before Holzinger's fieldwork Gilbert observed: "The Cherokees, as the present writer encountered them, were a cheerful people much given to funmaking. Ziegler and Grosscup in 1883, however, found the Cherokees 'incapable of joking' " (Gilbert, 1943, p. 282 ftn.).[1]

Holzinger is very much aware of striking differences between the earlier description of behavior traits and those he observed and explains them in this manner:

> Formerly the Cherokee seemed bound up in a set of complex and durable interpersonal relationships which brought him satisfaction and relief from certain impulses; whereas today, social relationships are fragile and are marked by undertones of suspicion and hostility that seem almost to eliminate gratification from them. A closer look at the personalities of Big Cove Cherokee today provides a way out of this seeming contradiction. For while certain basic lineaments of the aboriginal character continue to persist, the social context in which they are expressed has undergone profound transformation, and with this change in context have come alterations in the expression of these underlying traits. The Cherokee of Big Cove today typically show traits of passivity, apathy, suspiciousness and dependency that would in the event of the removal of all outside sources of support seem to make even their biological survival questionable. These traits can be seen as the neurotic warping of the underlying character structure. In the aboriginal personality, the anxieties which precipitate these neurotic tendencies themselves were latently present. With the removal of certain supports, they are today expressed.

Like other psychoanalytic constructs, the mechanism of repression is a convenient device for explaining paradoxical behavior patterns existing within an individual. But using it to explain how an entire group differs in their contemporaneous behavior from that of their ancestors requires more evidence than Holzinger has had space to present in his necessarily brief paper. We need to know how this works in the contemporary group to bring about the paradoxical behavior noted. And before making the assumption of "underlying character structure" as something which has been transmitted in its same basic components through hundreds of years, more ethnohistorical and ethnopsychological data must be brought together. I am

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[1] "The Cherokee I have known were subdued and gentle, very possibly hostile, covertly, but they were not apathetic. Mollie Sequoyah, the greatgrandmother, bubbled with vitality. Charles Standing Deer was friendly, witty, and warmhearted. I may have met unusual individuals." (G. P. Kurath, personal communication.)

not suggesting that we should dispense with a concept like basic personality structure, since it does seem to explain, not only for the Cherokee or other Woodlands cultures, but for almost any culture, apparent chronological continuity of behavior, but that most assumptions which have been made of this sort make a long leap in time and the historical hiatus must be bridged with more evidence than most of us have so far been able or willing to muster.

I would take issue, also, with the characterization of present-day Cherokee character as a "neurotic warping" of the presumed basic cluster of Cherokee characteristics, and the assertion that neurotic tendencies were latently present in the aboriginal character. This seems to repeat the error of some anthropologists who have described the behavior of whole societies as neurotic or psychotic (Wegrocki, 1939). If we are finally able to delineate a basic Cherokee personality structure which has persisted in time, with various accretions and losses and new overlays and syntheses resulting from the conditions of various historical periods, it would seem more reasonable to label the behavior of the Big Cove people of today as a new overlay and synthesis, rather than as either neurotic or warped. The suggestion of another contributor to this symposium, Witthoft, that contemporary American Indian cultures represent a special adaptation to existing conditions best characterized as "reservation culture" suggests the possibility that contemporary Indian behavior may be fruitfully seen as "reservation character" or "reservation personality."

The problems posed by these comments are difficult, but not incapable of solution. I would suggest the following methodological considerations:

1. Careful documentation of Cherokee character traits *through time.* (This would apply as well to studies of a similar nature with regard to the Iroquois groups or any other society.) We would thus be enabled to draw a chronological map of consistencies and changes through time, relate particular character structures functionally to particular epochs, and to the cultural and social forces at work within and around the culture. Fenton (1941) has done this for the institution of Iroquois suicide patterns, Wallace (1951) has attempted this for certain Tuscarora character traits (though making, I think, some errors similar to those discussed here)[2], and the present writer (Landy, 1958) has tried, with insufficient ethnohistorical materials, to do the same with regard to the fortunes, and changes of the Tuscarora Chiefs Council.

2. Antecedent-consequent linkages must be established in order to deduce character traits of adults from child-training patterns. To explain adult personality from training of children of the generation contemporary with the adults is a nonlogical explanatory technique. But one may, as Whiting and his associates (1953, n.d.) have demonstrated, *associate specific child behaviors with specific*

[2] But his more complete study of Tuscarora character (Wallace, 1952) using the Rorschach technique, and permitting modal and submodal personality constellations to emerge from the statistical results, remains a model of methodological sophistication.

child-rearing methods in the same individuals. Such linkages may also be made by retrospective studies of adult subjects, using, where possible, surviving socializing agents, in order to discover specific training and other antecedents of child and adult behavior.

3. Observers of the past seldom differentiated sufficiently from their generalized "Indian" character studies with regard to age and sex grades, not to mention possible differences according to ranking, or according to various statuses and roles even in societies where ranking is not apparent. Modern ethnologists should attempt to make such differentiations in the interests of a more detailed, less monolithic picture of Indian behavior.

4. Finally, we must be prepared to face and explain the many inconsistencies that may arise in the gathering and analyses of such data, using more than one frame of reference and more than one theoretical level. A caution needs to be voiced, however: Anthropology, which suffers inwardly and through the criticism of other disciplines, because of presumed paucity of fruitful theory, has tended in recent years to borrow liberally from its sister sciences. But when we borrow such theories (and this ought to be itself the subject of a study in intellectual and scientific diffusion and acculturation), we ought not to be inescapably bound by those which may have originated to explain a special psychological or sociological phenomenon occurring in one culture, or even in a single segment of that culture.

The present writer hopes that these remarks will not be taken as critical of Holzinger alone, since some of them do not apply to his paper, and he has informed me that in his own work he has accounted for many of the methodological suggestions but could not present more data within the scope of his paper. He has performed a much-needed study of one of the most intriguing Indian cultures and its practitioners. These strictures are meant, rather, to apply to all who would attempt to deal with these important problems, and they point up errors which many of us, including the present writer, have made.

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No. 24. Second Comment on Charles H. Holzinger's "Some Observations on the Persistence of Aboriginal Cherokee Personality Traits"

By JOHN GULICK

SECOND COMMENT ON CHARLES H. HOLZINGER'S "SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CHEROKEE PERSONALITY TRAITS"

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Holzinger's stimulating paper raises certain issues relative to the application of Freudian concepts to cultural analysis.

That the personality type which is modal in a culture and many of the patterns of that culture are opposite sides of the same coin, and that one of the ways of specifying the personality type is by means of Freudian concepts—these matters are not at issue here; rather we are concerned with the extent to which Freudian concepts can advantageously be used. We are also concerned with the problem of dovetailing Freudian interpretations with other interpretations that are available.

Freudian theory was developed for the purpose of diagnosing psychopathology; its terminology designates pathological conditions; therefore, when it is used to designate cultural patterns, these are often phrased as patterned maladjustments. With this frame of reference, pathologically oriented interpretations tend to be ramified throughout the culture. Thus, for instance, Holzinger's interpretation of Cherokee social gatherings today: that they seem almost driven to attend these meetings, not for enjoyment but for the gratification that comes simply from the reassurance that others are not hostile to them. This fits beautifully into the context of oral regression and the repression of hostility which Holzinger delineates. It can, however, be matched by an alternative interpretation, suggested by the thinking of Robert K. Thomas: that Cherokee *do* positively enjoy their social gatherings; that the absence from them of the extroverted joviality expected at comparable middle class American affairs is a definite factor in their enjoyment because it is a reflection of their ideals of interpersonal behavior which stress nonaggression and noninterference with others but not rejection of others in the "rugged individualist" sense. This, in turn, is part of the harmony element in their world view. The quar-

rels which sometimes break out are regarded by the Cherokee themselves as violations of the norm and are treated by withdrawal from the offending persons. The withdrawal itself is consistent with nonaggression and noninterference, and yet how easy it is for us to link it in our thinking with schizoid withdrawal!

This note of caution suggests that in this field of relative probabilities we must look for all possible clues. Freudian dynamics offer one very valuable kind of clue, one which indicates how predispositions to certain types of behavior, rather than to others, are maintained in a culture. The great value of Holzinger's interpretation is that it makes it clear how and why Cherokee are predisposed to nonaggressive, noninterferent, mutually assistant patterns, rather than to aggressive, competitive patterns of individualistic striving, for example. However, the fact that Cherokee do, nevertheless, have aggressive impulses does not in itself mean that the predisposition is intrinsically maladaptive nor that the ways in which aggression is channeled and sanctioned are necessarily neurotic compensations, nor, in fact, that the adult character structure itself is necessarily fixed in neurosis. It is at and beyond this point that we must look for other types of clues. Is it the best explanation of Cherokee valuation of generosity that it is a reaction formation to the compulsion to be grasping and selfish? What evidence do we have of such a compulsion as a general characteristic? As a matter of fact, we could, in this case, put the Freudian shoe on the other foot and say that Cherokee generosity is a result of their freedom from fixation at the anal retentive phase. This shoe would fit just as well, if not better. High valuation in itself does not imply the exaggerated, "overdone" tone characteristic of actions that are, in fact, compensatory, nor do Cherokee generosity patterns today (and presumably in aboriginal times in which context Holzinger raised the subject) have this tone.

Another alternative is that aboriginal generosity patterns developed of necessity in an ecology based on hunting and horticulture, with its attendant periods of want. Apart from noting that such patterns would not be likely to develop among anal retentives, their origin, establishment, and continuation through a long period of drastic cultural change can, it seems to me, be primarily accounted for in other than Freudian terms. Once established, such patterns become positively rewarding—the people learn to enjoy them for their own sake, as well as to need them. If we include an oral predisposition in the account, we imply at most that the primary pleasure is in receiving. We do not imply that the primary pleasure is in not giving (anal retentive), nor, necessarily in only receiving. Orally predisposed persons can learn (especially when the learning is in a context of mutual aid institutions) to give with pleasure and not with trauma.

Elsewhere I have discussed in very summary fashion certain present-day patterns of Cherokee culture which are apparently continuations from aboriginal times (Gulick, 1958 b). They include many items which are highly incongruent with the values of middle-class American culture. These Cherokee patterns are explicitly denigrated by the whites with whom the Cherokee are in contact, and the Cherokee are aware of the denigration. Furthermore, because of the incongruities, a Cherokee who tries to succeed according to white values is forced to violate certain Cherokee ones. Holzinger is correct in noting these stress and conflict factors in the present situation.

In addition, although many aboriginal patterns are retained, many crucial ones have been lost. As Thomas has pointed out in his analysis of the Redbird Smith movement (this volume, p. 162), the entire war organization (a mechanism for channeling aggression outward and of satisfying aggressive personalities otherwise discouraged in the culture) was rejected by the Cherokee themselves early in the 19th century. More recently, the ball games were discontinued. Aggressiveness, therefore, has had to find outlets in a very probable increase in gossip and backbiting, with associated suspiciousness and hostility. Thomas feels that the fading away of the clan concept has contributed to this trend toward interpersonal wariness, since it has become more difficult to ascertain how one should deal with many other people.

Holzinger's attention to these problems is an important contribution. I do not feel, however, that we can attribute the retention of older patterns to their having become, primarily, compensations for these present-day stresses. For certain individual Cherokee, they have very probably become so, and Holzinger's formulation fits them. Genuine neurosis occurs among them, and the form of the neurosis is patterned by the cultural patterns, as Holzinger points out.

But this does not mean that the same cultural patterns are not liked and preferred for their own sake by others. How many conservatives have really been frustrated by not being able to adopt white values? We do not know, but we do know that those who speak English poorly and the many more whose understanding of it is superficial cannot have a very clear idea of what white values really are.

That they resent white intrusions and have built barriers against them is clear (Gulick, 1958 a). However, we cannot simply conclude that they have withdrawn into apathy and depression until we can disprove that what they have actually done is to insulate themselves as best they can in a way of life which, despite its problems, provides them with pleasures and satisfactions which they do not want to forego.

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No. 25. Iroquoian Culture History: A General Evaluation

By WILLIAM N. FENTON

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IROQUOIAN CULTURE HISTORY: A GENERAL EVALUATION

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RANGE AND CULTURAL SETTING

This symposium should have properly opened by describing the people, their numbers, range, ecological, and cultural setting. Both the northern Six Nations and the Cherokee are Iroquoian-speaking people and the range of this family extends from Southeastern Tidewater where until 1710 the Tuscarora, the sixth nation, and Nottoway occupied the Piedmont; but mainly the Iroquoian family lived along the Appalachian summit ranging from the Cherokee of the Great Smokies northward to the Seneca of western New York who, with the Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, were the Five Nations of the Iroquois League. These, together with other northern Iroquoian tribes, notably the Susquehanna of that valley, the Erie of that lake shore, the Neutral of Niagara, and the Huron of Georgian Bay, inhabited the lower Great Lakes region and extended down the St. Lawrence Valley as far as Quebec, when first discovered. Their numbers are difficult to estimate, but in round thousands the Huron counted 20, the tribes of the League no more than 10, the Neutrals were of similar size, and the Erie, Susquehanna and Tuscarora were 5 each; whereas the Cherokee mountaineers counted 22.

Their range affords a wide variety of environments and ecological settings. The mountain habitat of the Great Smokies is floristically similar to the dissected plateau of central New York. Both peoples occupied inland positions which enabled them to withstand the shock of first white contact without immediately losing their lands or being depopulated. The late Professor Speck, whose field trips led him to both areas, summed up the cultural position of the northern and southern Iroquoians and offered us little hope as to how the connection might be traced:

> While it may be expected that analogies of some general character exist between the Cherokee and the northern Iroquoians, no progress has been made in the attempt to resolve the two cultural phases to a common foundation. The link of language is the binder by which relationship is traced. The roots of migration followed in the course of Iroquoian dispersion still defy explanation. Archeology holds the answer. [Speck, 1945, p. 22.]

It was hoped that this symposium might identify an area for the resolution of this perennial topic of American ethnology, and it seemed auspicious to meet at a time when teams of anthropologists were active in both fields. But after reading the papers written for this symposium, which comprise this bulletin, I must confess to a certain disappointment. Except in linguistics, musicology, choreography, and in the definition of fundamental settlement types and their resolution in the north, we are no nearer to demonstrating the relationship between Cherokee and Iroquois than we were 70 years ago when James Mooney first pointed out certain Cherokee and Iroquois parallels (Mooney, 1889, p. 67). A great deal more is known about their archeology; first-rate ethnological studies and modern social anthropological analyses have been carried out in both areas; and historical studies of first rank are proceeding from the researches of both historically and anthropologically trained scholars throughout colonial America. Perhaps the trouble is we know too much in detail and none of us moderns has the grand, strategic sense of Mooney and his contemporaries. And being a bit more sophisticated, we know that it is not a problem of simply comparing Cherokee and Iroquois but both groups must be compared with all of their neighbors at given points of time before one can say what is Iroquois and what is Cherokee and how the two relate. In this symposium only Kurath has really undertaken this task. Perhaps the task is too formidable and might not discover enough to warrant the effort. The problem itself has shifted. Ultimate Cherokee-Iroquois origins are not the real object of the search but the real quarry are the parallel processes that can be discovered in the history of the two groups that, when put side by side, take on new meanings. Had the Creeks survived in the Southeast to have been compared with the northern Iroquois they might have been just as satisfactory as the Cherokee are unsatisfactory. [1]

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[1] The most telling comment on the symposium came from one who came to listen and later submitted two papers, which are included in this bulletin (Nos. 11 and 21):

"Two general points emerge after reading all the papers:

First.—Although the linguistic relationship between the Cherokee and Iroquois has long been known (and Lounsbury's paper (this volume) sheds further light on the nature of the relationship), attempts to show ethnological similarities have been most disappointing. More and more it appears that the Cherokee are a basically Southeastern group and not as "marginal" as Swanton (1928) and Kroeber (1939) once supposed. The most striking parallels for the Cherokee are, of course, with the Creek. Likewise, Iroquois-Algonquian comparisons seem most rewarding.

Second.—Throughout many of the papers (especially Witthoft's) and comments comes the cry for a more sophisticated approach in discovering baselines for the study of modern reservation communities. The older, more absolute "aboriginal-nonaboriginal" dichotomy is not the most realistic or useful tool for plotting culture change, stability, and analyzing the importance of introduced culture traits. Thus, for example, an old-fashioned wood stove is a basic part of the culture equipment of present-day conservative Cherokee families. Although it was once an innovation, its preference over more modern gas or electric stoves can be seen as an element of cultural conservatism."

An additional point on the direct comparison of town size, though lacking in the original papers, has been supplied (paper No. 11). Mohawk towns were evidently twice the size of Cherokee communities and much more concentrated. "Certainly these differences in absolute size would lead to important differences in town organization . . ." (Raymond Fogelson, personal communication, July 19, 1959).

In round terms the Cherokee and Iroquois do have one thing in common. Though a Southeastern people, the Cherokee appear to have come from somewhere else just as the Iroquois cultural position seems intrusive in the Northeast. Surrounded by Algonquian people whom they most probably supplanted, the northern Iroquois have adapted completely to the deciduous beech, maple, and elm forests of the north and their adjustment is so complete, both culturally and ecologically, that they have defied all attempts to derive them from any place else. We are left then to work with the archeological, the historical, and the modern, ethnological record. What does the record of Iroquoian cultural history hold?

CHRONOLOGY

Five major periods of Iroquois cultural history were distinguished in my 1940 treatment of culture problems (Fenton, 1940 a, p. 44). These substantially, are:

1. A prehistoric period of internecine wars before confederation
2. A protohistoric period of confederation: the Laurentian period
3. The Iroquois or Beaver Wars for the fur trade during the French period
4. The struggle to maintain the balance of power (between the English and the French and with the Southeastern Indians)
5. Dispersion and removal to reservations

The last has three phases: Federal treaties and land cessions, the factional struggles over Christianity and the Jacksonian policy of removal, and the development of reservation culture in the ethnological present since 1850. For the Longhouse Iroquois the first period is before Deganawidah. Two, three, and four are since Deganawidah, and the last or ethnological present, is since Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet.

In broad terms, these same periods can be made to do for the Cherokee. They have a prehistoric period. Their protohistoric period is longer, extending from initial contact with DeSoto in 1540, well past the middle of the 17th century. Lacking a French period, trade begins with the English in the Carolinas and they too backed the Crown in the Revolution, after which came their own cultural renaissance and the tragic tale of removal over the "trail of tears" to Oklahoma. Those Cherokee who stayed in the Carolina mountains remained for ethnological study by Mooney and they contrast with the people whom Morgan, Hale, and Hewitt studied in western New York and southern Ontario. Tracing these parallels was a simple and pleasant game so long as one ignored history and the quite different character of the two cultures.

In historical terms we may summarize the Cherokee-Iroquois connection. Whatever the ultimate relationship that linguistic

science demands of these northern and southern relatives, after a long separation, throughout the 18th century they were in more or less continuous contact during the protracted Cherokee-Iroquois War, which terminated in a peace treaty just after 1770 when Sequoia was 10 years old. Several institutions and ritual complexes were transmitted from the Cherokee to the Iroquois at this time, and other Southeastern traits, like the blowgun, which were present in northern Iroquois culture a century later, may be attributed to these contacts. Whether some rather striking resemblances between the two peoples date back to an erstwhile linguistic connection remains to be seen.

SPECIAL GENIUS OF THE FIVE NATIONS

Few have appreciated the special genius of the Five Nations more than Cadwallader Colden who, in 1727, introduced his little history of the Five Indian Nations with these remarks to Governor Burnet: "The *Five Nations* are a poor Barbarous People, under the *darkest Ignorance*, and yet a *bright* and *noble Genius* shines thro' these *black Clouds*." Colden had the wit to see that whatever made the Iroquois great: "It was an affair of the mind." I submit that this quality is what governs the coherent character of Iroquois social structure, and their tendency to systematize the elements of their culture into great institutional showpieces is what has given their culture stability over the years. This idea is not original. Simeon Gibson enunciated this principle to me 15 years ago on the Grand River (Fenton, 1944), and recently Dr. Shimony, in her brilliant analysis of conservatism on the Six Nations Reserve, reached a similar conclusion.

Just as 18th-century England had its cabinetmakers who produced fine furniture, its painters, its playwrights and producers who gave us Garrick's Theater, its wits, its wags, its rakes, and its political geniuses like Burke, so in the same century the Iroquois had Sir William Johnson, and Byrd and Atkin served the Cherokee. Likewise, the Iroquoians developed some remarkable men of their own who produced some spectacles and left some institutional showpieces. These are: Clan Society, the League, the Condolence Council, the annual cycle of maize and dream festivals, and the Handsome Lake religion of the longhouse today. These five areas of institutional behavior find their rationale in three long literary epics:

1. The Myth of the Earth Grasper or the beginnings of the world on the turtle's back
2. The Deganawidah Epic of the founding of the League of the People of the Longhouse
3. kâiwi:yo:h, the revelation of Handsome Lake (Parker, 1913)

The first is the Iroquoian cosmology which contains the beginnings of clan society—it defines the relationship of supernaturals to man,

and provides a formula for returning thanks which becomes the pattern of sequence for conducting all Iroquois ceremonies (Hewitt, 1928). The Deganawidah Epic goes back to protohistoric times when villages were at war with one another; it tells how blood feud was composed and how the then village chiefs became the chiefs of the new order. The ceremonies for placating individual jealousies and installing chiefs in office are accomplished through the ceremony of condolence and requickening (Parker, 1916; Hewitt and Fenton, editors, 1944). Anthony Wallace has recently shown that the second, like kâiwi:yo:h, was a kind of revitalization movement (Wallace, 1958). Iroquois political historians have themselves seen the analogy between it and the Code of Handsome Lake which emerged from a period of individual stress and cultural distortion at the very close of the 18th century (Parker, 1913).

The three epics have two points in common which I stress for their historical implications: first, they were recited at public gatherings of more than a day's duration; second, great heed was paid to verbatim recall and recitation. This last point is of some relevance. Despite the tendency of 19th-century Iroquois philosophers to systematize their culture and read back into myths ceremonies which were extant in their own time and social customs which had only recently passed out of practice, the Code of Handsome Lake affords a reasonable check on the accuracy of native tradition. The striking resemblance between modern versions and contemporary diary accounts of Handsome Lake's revelation does endorse the value of Iroquois tradition as a vehicle of history. Wallace has indicated some critical cautions that may be employed to detect subsequent distortions of a myth. Without implying that myths do not change or that they may be accepted uncritically as history, I have made this point because the main outlines of myths survive over long periods of time and can be detected from fragments in earlier historic records. I shall return to this in a moment.

Easier to detect in early historical records are some persistent themes in Iroquois culture. These themes occur in individual, social, political, and religious contexts. Perhaps Conrad Weiser knew something of this when he said a European who wishes to stand well with them must practice well the three following virtues: (1) speak the truth, (2) give the best that he has, (3) show himself not a coward but courageous in all cases (P. Wallace, 1945, p. 201). For, as Colden said, the Iroquois considered themselves men surpassing all others. This idea of personal and racial superiority over the white man persists and manifests itself in the behavior and attitudes of Indianists today. It operates as a kind of compensatory mechanism; given an ax and a gun he defeated his enemies; strong drink, and he brawled with his kin;

given an automobile, he went out and killed himself, or he took it out in dangerous occupations. Morris Freilich has made a very reasonable case for the persistence and transfer of attitudes and values of the warrior pattern to work in high steel (Freilich, 1958).

The themes of courage and mind run concurrently through the literature to this day. "We are of one mind," "Our minds are at rest," "Their minds are downcast" (mourning); "We lift up their minds" (requicken their faculties), and in the treaties the hope is expressed that "they shall hold this in their minds forever."

Life and death are individual and social opposites. Love, luck, and witchcraft go together with jealousy and revenge. "The world is large but I will catch you," says Jõwis to the Naked Bear, and so Seneca warriors chased the Cherokee to the canebrakes of Georgia. The corn, the beans, and the squash of women's agriculture are "Our life sustainers." "Death, the faceless" stalks the trails and strikes unexpectedly.

Helpfulness, charity, reciprocity, friendship, and adoption express well the mutually binding ties between roles in a functioning society. A cardinal feature of Iroquois personal behavior and of ceremonialism is to approach, hesitate until summoned, sit down across the fire, waiting until one is served, first hear out one's host, and then withdraw again before responding in kind. Withdrawal is one of the most subtle and yet fundamental patterns in all of Iroquois social behavior. It runs from a visit to a friend in another village to the ritual of condolence and installation.

Just as there are four ceremonies, there are also four cardinal principles of Iroquois policy and these are dual concepts: (1) health, peace (skɛ:nɔʔ), (2) strength, civil authority (kaʔhásteshæʔ), (3) truth, righteousness (kâiwi:yo:h), (4) the great law, or the commonwealth (kayaneshǽʔ:ko:wa:h). These themes both exist on a worldly or political level and attain a level of supernatural significance through the Deganawidah Epic.

I do not know what is the special genius of the Cherokee except their ability to survive in their mountain fastness of North Carolina and their adaptiveness to contemporary society in Oklahoma. But over the years I have collected Cherokee-Iroquois parallels. I was impelled to do so because we were all impressed formerly with the supposed Southeastern origin of Iroquois culture. The two areas were supposed to be related because ultimately the same language was spoken in both. But in reading the ethnological and historical literature, in making two brief field trips to the Cherokee, and while conversing with students of the Cherokee, I have failed to find anything as definite as the resemblances between Iroquois and Delaware which

once were supposed not to be related. The parallels are tantalizing, though, and I offer them for what they are worth.

Both peoples have a strong antipathy to whites; both cultures prefer Appalachian habitats, and, as might be expected, common botanical species have found similar uses in both areas. The herbalist enjoys a prominent role socially in both societies. Possession by birds and other animals was marked (Fenton, 1953). But masks and masking behavior, though present in both cultures, retain few fundamental traits common to both areas, although the analogies are strong.[2] In reading Mooney and Olbrecht's treatment of the medicines, however, I sensed something very close to my Seneca experiences. Where the Cherokee are long on formula, the Seneca are much more systematic. The northern Iroquois are the greater systematists, anyway. Cherokee culture, then, is individualized and the formulas are more rigidly patterned. Iroquois society puts more store in group activity and less on individual or private holinesses.

Some day I should like to know where the splint basketry industry of the Northeast came from, whether it was introduced by the Swedes on the Delaware. We do know that Indians of the neighborhood of Albany, Mahikans and Oneida, first taught the Shakers in New York.[3] Frank G. Speck once presented us with a tantalizing picture of the relationships of cane basketry in eastern South America with that in the Southeast and, in turn, of cane basketry in the Southeast and its weaves with similar forms and techniques among the Northeastern tribes where maize, beans, and squash are grown and gathered in these utensils (Speck, 1920). If there were no historical records, we might pursue this line of reasoning relentlessly and derive a great deal of Iroquois culture through the Southeast from the forest of the eastern Amazon via the Antilles.[4] Faint echoes in the language are supposed to reverberate that way.

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[2] "This is more evident when one has seen the more acculturated Nedrow [i.e., N.Y. Onondaga] masked parodies. The greater organization of the Iroquois maskers relates to the comment on Iroquois systematization and group activity" (G.P.K., personal communication). My own data on these contacts, from interviews with Will West Long, and without seeing the Cherokee Booger Dance show little connection between Cherokee and Iroquois maskers.

[3] Personal communication, William I. Lassiter, New York State Museum: "Sister Sadie Neale (1849–1948) . . . remembered when the Shakers at the Church Family, Mt. Lebanon, N.Y., were making 80 different types of baskets in their factory. It was at this time . . . that the Indians probably taught the Shakers to make baskets, and that the decorated splint baskets were Indian and not Shaker. These "Mahican"-type baskets could not have been Shaker-made, since their Millennial Laws forbade them to spend time in useless ornamentation, to waste time in the decorating or creating of objects for beauty's sake. This was for the World's people and not for the Believers in the Second Appearing of Christ (Shakers).

Eldress Anna Case, who died in 1938, . . . as a child in the South Family, Watervliet, . . . remembered when the Indians stopped at the farm and exchanged their baskets, etc., with the Shakers for food."

[4] A more recent reevaluation of this question supports Speck's comparison of Southeastern cane and Northeastern splint basketry, but seriously questions ultimate relationship with South American basketry (Goggin, 1949); and Sturtevant having lately reexamined the question of Antillean diffusion with entirely negative results recommends dropping this line of inquiry (Sturtevant, personal communication).

Hardly had the Journal of American Folklore been founded in 1888 when Hale (1888) and Mooney (1888, 1889) began to compare versions of the creation legend from the Huron and Mohawk with variants from the Cherokee. As might be expected, some of the folkloristic concepts are amazingly close and are supported by parallel linguistic terms. It is not strange that both peoples used the same species of native tobacco and named it similarly. The myth of the beginning of the Seneca women's rite (yɔthɔwi:sas), which relates how two sisters were captured during the Cherokee wars, is of a different order (Mooney, 1900, pp. 365, 492). It is well nigh a historical legend, like that of the beginnings of the Little Water Medicine Society in the adventures of the good hunter who was scalped while raiding Cherokee villages, was left for dead, and was afterward restored by the council of mystic animals. To this cycle belong other tales of the wars.

Speck and Schaeffer's attempt to link the mutual aid societies of the Seneca with the Cherokee Gadugi raises more questions than it answers. Both are societies that aid the poor, but, among the Seneca, the society also sings for pleasure. The reciprocal element of feast for work is present in both groups. In the north, it grew out of groups of men who helped the women of the clan to whom they had the misfortune to be married. Institutionalized cooperation and poor relief is deeply embedded in Iroquoian culture. The authors held that the Cherokee case, stripped of accretions, such as mutual exchange of services for economic ends, equates essentially with the women's mutual aid company composed of men married into a clan (Speck and Schaeffer, 1945). I should rather think that the pattern involved is voluntary association of individuals, probably communitywide, organized under the supervision of a leader and several assistants to carry on mutual aid or relief activities within the locality on a reciprocal basis, and that this pattern was widespread in the Eastern Woodlands. That it happens to survive or coexist among Cherokee and Seneca is to be expected if it were widespread, or possibly because it came about in response to similar needs. Fogelson and Kutsche have presented the case for convergence in this volume.

I consider in the same order of validity Witthoft and Hadlock's attempt to link up the "little people" who in both areas were believed to inhabit rocky places, or high cliffs from which they threw stones at people. Only in the north did this association with humans result in a society to befriend hunters. As the latter authors indicate, this concept was widespread in the Eastern Woodlands. Their Cayuga informant, Deskahe, theorized that the reason we no longer meet little people in the woods is because they have retired in the face of settlement and, consequently, are no longer visible to men (Witthoft and Hadlock, 1946).

A better case can be made for a number of specific spirits. Both languages lack a distinct word for sun and moon, calling them day sun and night sun, whereas in the north the moon is grandmother, in the south, moon is brother of sun. But even this parallel becomes diffuse, since Mikasuki Seminole and Choctaw also lack separate terms, both saying "sun" and "night sun." With the former, sun is female and moon male,[5] as is also the case among central Algonquians [6]—both the reverse of the Iroquois usage.

Fire is more prominent in Cherokee culture. The river is an important idea in Cherokee theology. Going to the river suggests the Iroquois practice of taking water with the running stream in making medicine. Both peoples speak of the thunders as voices that reverberate in the west and in both cosmologies they have to do with exterminating disease. Although the Cherokee have a well-developed and inordinate belief in ghosts, there is nothing like the Feast of the Dead still practiced among the Iroquois. Four is a sacred number in both cultures; but seven is more so in Cherokee, as are multiples of twelve. Seven scarcely occurs in Iroquois culture, but four and eight are the magic numbers.

In matters of ceremony and belief, according to Gilbert (1943), the Cherokee differed little from the rest of the Southeast: the Green Corn Feast, Sacred Ark, New Fire Rite, Religious Regard for the Sun, Divining Crystals, Scarification, Priesthood, Animal Spirit, Theory of Disease, certain medical practices. But there are no animal medicine societies as in the North. A few myths are reminiscent of the Iroquois but the bulk are of the Southeastern animal tale type.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Any consideration of Iroquoian culture history that seeks to compare the state of knowledge of the Cherokee with their northern brethren encounters some special problems. These problems are primarily of a methodological sort which ethnologists in the past century have faced or disregarded if they sought to compare the results obtained from the study of surviving cultures with the historical records of these institutions in the past. If anthropologists, indeed, are historically minded, no other field presents them with a greater opportunity or challenge, if not outright frustration. The Iroquoianist is, perforce, somewhat of a linguist, a fieldworker, a habitué of libraries and archives, and if not an antiquarian, he is at least a book collector.

In working both ends of the time span stretching from the first historical records to his living informants, the ethnologist soon finds

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[5] Sturtevant, personal communication.

[6] Kurath, personal communication.

himself caught in the stability and change paradox. He notes persistent themes that run through all the literature. He finds parts of institutions which seem to have great depth, but the fundamental discontinuity of historical and ethnological literatures make it difficult for him to interpret the past in terms of the present or to share the abiding enthusiasm of 19th-century ethnologists—Morgan, Hale, Hewitt—and of Speck and himself in his own day, that the rich ethnological fare which he has experienced is actually a survival from an earlier day. He wonders whether it possibly represents a reformulation of older cultural materials in order to preserve some measure of Indianness and to save the Indian's own self in response to white civilization pressing in upon the reservation from all sides. Nothing provides a greater thrill than tracing out the roots of contemporary Indian institutions and finding the same pattern of activity at two ends of the time span extending over several hundred years. But in advancing against the stream of chronology one overlooks the great cultural shifts that have occurred since prehistoric times.

Beauchamp first noted, and Ritchie has since demonstrated, the shift of settlement types in the Northeast from small nucleated hamlets to the larger stockaded villages made up of longhouses. Beauchamp also noted the recency of Iroquoian sites as compared with older cultures in the area.

With the coming of the whites came a radical shift in material culture. Though McIlwain (1915) and Hunt (1940) are credited with riding the horse of economic determinism and pointing out that the trade in furs was a much more important factor in the continuing alliance of the League of the Iroquois with the whites at Albany than the revenge of Champlain's ill-advised assistance to the Huron and Algonkians in 1609 (my review of Hunt in American Anthropologist, 1940, p. 662), it was George Ellis, a Harvard historian writing for Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," who anticipated them and first stated the nature of the cultural revolution (Ellis, 1889, pp. 286, 303):

> A metal kettle, a spear, a knife, a hatchet, transformed the whole life of the savage. A blanket was to him a whole wardrobe. When he came to be the possessor of firearms . . ., having before regarded himself the equal to the white man, he at once became his superior.

With such radical shifts in economy to trading and dependence on metal tools, we may expect comparable shifts in social structure and political organization. Because of the perennial interest in the status of women at the turn of the present century, ethnologists were inclined to assume that the strong political position of Iroquois women had not changed materially from what it had been in the 17th and 18th centuries. Taking off from Hewitt and Goldenweiser's data, we are

delighted to find Samuel Kirkland's account of how the "she sachems" at Onondaga had censured the Cayuga Nation for allowing their young men to go out with the Shawnees in Dunmore's war of 1774 (Fenton, 1949, p. 237). But in a recent provocative paper, Richards (1957) has questioned: Is the idea of matriarchy a mistake? Dr. Richards demonstrates, to her satisfaction at least, that all of the sources show a gradual increase in the decision-making power of women and a corresponding loss by men, and that this shift was a product of the two centuries of conflict.

If Lafitau, like Morgan, and Hewitt after them, sin in exaggerating the rising power of the Iroquois matron in a society which was losing its male population, Lafitau did discover the classificatory kinship system a century before Morgan and indicated that it was of a type that we now know as Iroquois-Dakota (Lafitau, 1724, vol. 1, pp. 552–553; Tax, 1955, p. 446).[7] At this early date, the Iroquois segregated and distinguished differential behavior for four sets of relatives along clan lines. A joking relationship persists among the Seneca whose fathers are of the same clan—between two men, or between a man and a woman—which is reminiscent of Gilbert's description of the five-fold joking relationships among the Cherokee and the Creek, which comprise:

> (a) persons having parents of the same clan, (b) children and their mother's clans-people, (c) all persons whose fathers belonged to the same clan, (d) persons and their father's fathers, and (e) persons and those women who had married into the father's clan. [Gilbert, *in* Eggan, 1955, p. 336.]

But the Iroquois kinship system is northern and does not distinguish patrilateral from matrilateral cross cousins or their descent from mother's brother or father's sister. Southeastern systems to which the Cherokee belong distinguish one lineage of cross cousins from the other.[8] And Eggan has recently said, the parallels between Iroquois, Ojibwa, and Dakota kinship terminology may be further reinforced by a discovery that Iroquois social structure may turn out to have been based on cross-cousin marriage. This northern affinity in social structure also supports the belief of certain archeologists that Iroquois culture developed in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence watershed

[7] ". . . among the Iroquois and Huron, all the children of a household regard as their mothers all their mother's sisters, and as their uncles, all their mother's brothers; for the same reason they give the name of fathers to all their father's brothers and of aunts to all their father's sisters. All the children on the side of the mother and her sisters, of the father and his brothers, look upon each other likewise as brothers and sisters; but, in respect to the children of their uncles and aunts, that is to say of their mother's brothers and their father's sisters, they hold them only on the footing of cousins, although the degree of relationship is the same as with those whom they regard as their brothers and sisters. In the third generation this changes, the great-uncles and great-aunts become again grandfathers and grandmothers, of the children of those whom they call nephews and nieces. This continues always in the descending line according to the same rule." [Lafitau, 1724, vol. 1, pp. 552–553; Tax, 1955, p. 446.]

[8] The other is not a lineage, but a heterogeneous aggregate.—F. G. L.

rather than having been imported wholesale from elsewhere (Eggan, 1955, p. 548). May we infer from this that if the Cherokee and Iroquois once had a common kinship system, it should be the least differentiated,[9] and, therefore, of the northern type; and that the Cherokee acquired a Crow-type of kinship system from their neighbors after moving into the Southeast where the basic eight-clan system is at home? But this presents a problem, since the Cherokee have only seven clans and lack moieties, and the northern Seneca have eight clans in two moieties; but the Seneca are not organized into a red and white moiety system like the Creeks.

In the light of Gearing's paper on the rise of the Cherokee state, I should like to raise the perennial question: How old is the League of the Iroquois? Does Gearing's hypothesis offer any help or throw any light on this problem? I think it does.

He says in part, ". . . naive states may arise out of segmentary societies when ranking lineages or clans gain monopoly over functions deemed vital, . . . and . . . gain coercive leverage over lesser lineages . . ." The Cherokee tribe was not a segmentary society, although Merlin Myers saw the Iroquois in this light after training at Cambridge University. Second, they arise out of voluntary association of communities as coequals, i.e., the village confederacy, which is the Iroquois case as in the Cherokee. The career has four parts, one of which is the five features of the communities that join: (1) conscious distinction between two kinds of tasks: (*a*) by command, and (*b*) through voluntary consensus (with the sanction of withdrawal of participation); (2) the population is distributed between the two sets of tasks; (3) the system distinguishes jobs in two classes and distributes[10] personnel; (4) leadership is achieved and not ascribed by birth, with two entering sets of qualifications—egocentric courage for command, and restraint for leadership in tasks demanding voluntary consensus; (5) great honor is bestowed on the last.

Since by Gearing's affirmation "Any society is a candidate for admission which has a peace chief and a war chief, or inside and outside chiefs, and which utilizes as its major sanction a loose form of ostra-

---

[9] Can the Iroquois kinship system really be said to be "least differentiated" in comparison with Cherokee (Crow-type), when the Iroquois pattern has more basic kin categories than the Crow pattern? What is intended here must be what happens in Ego's generation, part of which is merged with parental-generation categories and part with filial-generation categories, resulting in more categories intersecting this one generation.—F. G. L., personal correspondence.

[10] You read my item 2 with the mental set that Cherokees have moities, but they do not. All the literature says they do, and I did not explicitly say in my original paper the contrary, which left my intent dim. The idea is that all the village is at one moment one set of personnel and that all those same individuals are at a second moment a second set of personnel, like when professors disperse at five and become fathers and husbands. Finally, my item 3 becomes now clearer. While all individuals are involved in both systems of personnel, some individuals precipitate as leaders in one set and usually other individuals in the second set. (F. G., personal communication, July 7, 1959.)

cism," I submit both Taos Pueblo and the League of the Iroquois for candidacy and argue the last (Fenton, 1957).

The Iroquois case fits all of these criteria save one. In later days, at least, the Sachems, "Lords of the League," or Federal Chiefs, the hotiyanéshoʔoh, who bear the titles of the original founders of the League, and who are indeed the peace chiefs, have their offices ascribed by birth into certain clans that possess the titles over and against other clans and lineages. Actually we know that this is not invariably true even in modern times because the titles are passed from lineage to lineage and from clan to clan in the same moiety when a suitable candidate is lacking in the first lineage or when "the ashes of that fireside become cold"—a maternal lineage is extinguished. The original incumbents in these titles were the then existing village chiefs. Throughout history there has been much shifting from clan to clan until it is imposible to tell the original ascriptions. Great personal restraint, equability, and imperviousness to gossip are prime criteria; aggressiveness, too great ability, impetuousness are fatal. Without laying aside the antlers of office, League Chiefs might not take up the warpath.

Except that white is the symbol of peace, and red of war, the northern Iroquois do not follow the Southeastern custom of denominating White and Red tasks, moieties, or offices. Since the war chiefs rose to prominence by their deeds in time of war, they emerged from a younger age grade. They brooked little control even in times of peace, when they were continually slipping out of the hands of the sachems, their numbers increased rapidly during periods of prolonged warfare, and they were a nuisance when it came to settling a treaty and had to be put in their place by the proper sachems and the women. Cornplanter and Brant were of this class.

A third class of chiefs, the so-called Pine Tree chiefs, were chiefs of merit and the office died with the holder. These were statuses achieved for general qualities of mind, wisdom in council, and ability to speak. They were speakers for the League council, for the council of warriors, and often the council of women. Red Jacket was of this class.

There was a fourth class of chiefs who, by virtue of age and wisdom, constituted the popular council of the village, and their meetings, as described by La Potherie and Lafitau in the first decades of the 18th century, heard speakers from the League, the warrior's and women's councils who were represented by appointed deputies. Lafitau compared this assembly with the Roman Senate:

> It is a greasy assemblage sitting sur leur derrière, crouched like apes, their knees as high as their ears, or lying, some on their bellies, some on their backs, each with a pipe in his mouth, discussing affairs of state with as much coolness and gravity

as Spanish Junta or the Grand Council of Venice. [Lafitau, 1724, vol. 1, p. 478, *in* Parkman, 1895, p. 58.]

Neither Perrot nor La Potherie, who were Colden's sources among French writers, nor Lafitau (whom Colden seems not to have seen though he published 3 years after him) describes a council of the League of the Five Nations meeting at Onondaga, but they all say the Iroquois are Five Nations who comprise one household; nor do I recall from any source anything as specific and detailed as the ethnological accounts of meetings of the Grand Council which Morgan, Hale, Beauchamp, Hewitt, and the writer had from living sources in the last century. This information was collected independently at Tonawanda, a Seneca community, at Onondaga, N.Y., and on the Six Nations Reserve on Grand River, where Brant's followers settled after the American Revolution. The League cannot be the figment of ethnologists' imagination, nor can it be the fruit of a nativistic movement after dispersal of the tribes in 1784. The Handsome Lake religion is recent; but the League is loaded down with too much intellectual, literary, and ritualistic baggage to be a recent production. It seems not to have been a 19th-century integration in response to military defeat.

For the benefit of historians and other ethnologists who in reading the historical sources have encountered a similar malaise in not being able to identify its institutions in the earlier literature, there are four things to look for, in whole or in part:

1. The tradition of the founding of the League: the Deganawidah Legend
2. The Roll Call of the Founders: the 50 titles distributed among 5 tribes (Fenton, 1950)
3. The Condolence or Requickening Address
4. Conventions at Onondaga, with dates, at which some measure of unanimity was achieved

Iroquois sources in the 18th century did not place the beginning of their confederacy more than a generation before the coming of the white people. Readers familiar with various published versions of the tradition will recognize the plot and characters in the version published by John Heckewelder in 1819 after a manuscript of his Moravian brother, John Christopher Pyrlaeus, who under the direction of Conrad Weiser, the Pennsylvania interpreter, made a mission to the Mohawk in 1743 (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. xxviii, 56, 96).

The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was established, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country. Thannawage was the name of the aged Indian, a Mohawk, who first proposed such an alliance . . . The names of the chiefs of the Five Nations, which at that time met and formed the alliance (were): Toganawita, of the Mohawks; Otatschéchta, of the Oneida; Tatotarho, of the Onondagas; Togaháyon, of the Cayugas; Ganiatarió and Satagarùyes, from two

towns of the Senecas, &c . . . All these names are forever to be kept in remembrance, by naming a person in each nation after them, &c. [Heckewelder, 1881, p. 56 ftnt.]

Later, Heckewelder says that the Delaware always considered the Iroquois to be one people, Mengwe, but that the English called them Five Nations, probably to magnify their importance as allies (ibid., p. 96). Then he goes on to quote Pyrlaeus' informant, a Mohawk chief.

They then gave themselves the name Aquanoshioni, which means one house, one family, and consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas. This alliance having been first proposed by a Mohawk chief, the Mohawks rank in the family as the eldest brother, the Oneidas, as the eldest son; the Senecas who were the last who had at that time consented to the alliance, were called the youngest son; but the Tuscaroras, who joined the confederacy probably one hundred years afterwards, assumed that name, and the Senecas ranked in precedence before them, as being the next youngest son, or as we would say, the youngest son but one.

Zeisberger, who knew the Onondagas well enough to write a dictionary, supports his colleague by saying:

. . . The Iroquois call themselves Aquanoschioni, which means united people, having united for the purpose of always reminding each other that their safety and power consist in a mutual and strict adherence to their alliance. Onondago is their chief town. All of these were originally tribes of one people who united as a nation for mutual defence. [Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 96–97.]

The League then had arisen out of voluntary association of communities; it was a "league of ragged villages," as Franklin said. The conditions are more important than the exact date on which this event occurred. I have always considered Beauchamp's conclusion, that the true date of confederacy lies between 1570 and 1600 (Beauchamp, 1905, p. 153), as reasonable in the light of the evidence from archeology (the position and number of prehistoric Mohawk sites); of linguistics (the anomaly of the Laurentian dialect); of history (the evacuation of the Laurentians); and native tradition of the diaspora. Let us fashionably say, 1600 plus or minus 30 years! Secondly, by anology with the Handsome Lake religion, which has been remembered verbatim these 160 years, would not the Mohawks of Pyrlaeus' day be entitled to the same credit?

The roll call of the 50 founders, which was chanted on the path to the village of mourning nations, eluded early writers who record some aspects of the procession. Conrad Weiser and Sir William Johnson were familiar with its forms and themselves performed it on occasion. In 1756, Sir William marched on at the Head of the Sachems singing the condoling song which contains the names, laws, and customs of their renowned ancestors (O'Callaghan, vol. 7, p. 133 in Beauchamp, 1907, p. 393). And his Journal of Indian Affairs for April 1765 carries a petition from the Onondaga presenting young men, recently ap-

pointed sachems, to fill vacancies in the Onondaga Council and their guardians. I recognize the names and clans of the seven young men as titles still on the Onondaga Council roster (Johnson, 1921–57, vol. 11, p. 709; Fenton, 1950). Other titles occur at random through the colonial records and seldom in clusters which so readily fit the Roll Call as known to ethnology.

The Requickening Address of the Condolence Council was a ceremonial form of greeting for friend and stranger and its use was early and widespread in the Eastern Woodlands. It may be older than the League itself. Its theme was death, mourning, and restoration of the faculties of the grieving; it wiped away tears, opened the ears, and cleared the throat; restored sight of the sun, dispelling darkness of death; wiped the bloody mat; covered the grave, etc., in 14 or more ritual speeches, each accompanied by a wampum string or belt. Having lifted up the downcast mourning minds, the stage was set for requickening a living person in the place of the dead; for restoration of peace and the resumption of trade, in place of war. What had been the plot of great pre-Columbian drama festivals in forested settings of mounds and formal walkways became the literature of the council fire which Franklin captured and published (Boyd and Van Doren, 1938). The Mohawks treated the French to the ceremony at Three Rivers in 1645, and Hunt, though most critical of the League's failures, has given the best evidence of its forms (Hunt, 1940, pp. 77–78).

Hunt has a point, because the League did not function to achieve unanimity of purpose and coordinate action until late in the 17th century. Though the Five Nations are first named in a Dutch journal of 1635, its author seemed unaware of what he heard sung at Oneida. The Relation of 1654 says they call themselves Hotinnonchiendi, "the finished cabin, as if . . . only one family" and describes several features: the calling the roll, condolence, and a grand council. But 1660 is the first Dutch record of confederate council at Onondaga, toward the close of the Beaver Wars, after which the chiefs came down to Albany with one voice to plant the tree of peace and bury the hatchet. For a number of years, the New York Indian records carry explicit allusions to the League Council meetings, as for example, May 5, 1694:

"The Five Nations reply [to the Governor of New York at Albany]. . . . Before the Christians [first] arrival [in this Country] the 5 Nations held their General Meeting at Onondaga where from the beginning there has been a Continual Fire" (McIlwain, 1915, p. 24). Thereafter, there are three 18th-century meetings recorded by Weiser, in 1743 (Wallace, 1945, pp. 162–168), Kirkland (MS.), and Guy Johnson in 1774 (O'Callaghan, 1857, vol. 8, p. 524), at which the Founding of the League and its laws were rehearsed before taking up

the agenda. Though these accounts are sparse on detail, it is evident that the League was functioning, that it reached policy leading to action, and that what was later local government on the Six Nations Reserve originated in the 17th and 18th centuries; and though not as grand or glorious as its poor descendants regard it in retrospect, it was nevertheless formidable and as effective as governments are. If anything, it fitted Gearing's paradigm admirably.

NEXT STEPS IN RESEARCH

What then are the principal research needs in this field?

1. An exploration of the origin of the Iroquois might afford the topic for a workshop of a week's duration. Lounsbury and Ritchie suggest the need, and it is recommended that a panel like the present symposium might possess the competence to define the problem, identify objectives, and suggest ways of attaining them within our time.

2. Among programs of library, museum, and field studies and jobs of writing the following list covers the principal tasks:

(*a*) Compiling a central register of items of Iroquois material culture in the world's collections, comprising pertinent accession records and 35 mm. photographs of the specimens, is the first step toward preparing a monograph on the arts and industries of the aborigines of the elm and pine forests bordering the Great Lakes.

(*b*) Iroquoian culture history can be documented period by period and illustrated by the radical changes in arts and crafts and the objects of the trade.

(*c*) A study to be done mainly in libraries is the preparation of a political history of intertribal relations and contacts with the whites. But even this requires the perspective of the museum and the field.

(*d*) Preparation and publication of long ritual texts such as the Code of Handsome Lake, the Deganawidah epic, the religious ceremonies, and the rituals of the council fire combine field work with the use of documents.

(*e*) A special opportunity for the testing of ethnohistorical techniques is presented by the challenge of excellent documentary records for both the Seneca Nation and the Six Nations of Canada, which in turn can be compared with the course of government among the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. There are unworked archival resources at Gowanda, N.Y., Brantford, Canada, and Tulsa, Okla.

3. The comparative linguistics of the Iroquoian family deserves special consideration. A number of the languages are still spoken, and early sources for Mohawk and Onondaga invite comparison and suggest that rate of linguistic change can be measured with controlled dates. And vocabularies and grammars exist for several extinct languages. Among the archival resources, which should be used, are the Jesuit archives in Montreal, the John Carter Brown Library, the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa., the Library of the American

Philosophical Society, and the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This family should shortly be as well known as Algonquian.

4. Fellowships. Some of the best scholars in this field have been siphoned off into teaching and administrative posts. Fellowships will assist graduate students to undertake work at museums, in libraries, and in the field but there is a more crucial need to provide sabbatical leaves from administrative and teaching duties to allow scholars to renew their craft and complete major writing projects. A research professorship in ethnohistory at a university near library and archival resources would bring this interdisciplinary cross to maturity. Teaching a seminar would bring the scholar into touch with students and the stimulation of contact with faculty in related disciplines. And in turn the cure for the weariness of teaching may lie in the quiet of the museum or library, which suggests that these institutions might consider extending annual fellowships to mature scholars to work on their collections. A sabbatical year to work in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology or in the Library of the American Philosophical Society would be mutually profitable to the institution and to the fellowship holder.

5. A handbook of the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands of North America would go far toward fulfilling the need for an up-to-date edition of the Bureau of American Ethnology's famous Bulletin 30, "Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico," which would assume vast proportions if done for the continent in our present state of knowledge. An Eastern Woodlands handbook might later be followed by a handbook of the Plains, or the Southwest, but here needs are not as crucial because the literature is not as abundant or nearly as confusing. The Bureau itself might appropriately consider such a project as fitting into its long-range program. Leadership is not likely to arise beyond the means of fulfillment. No other institution has the resources or the tradition.

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